



# *Ontario History*

Scholarly Journal of The Ontario Historical Society Since 1899

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## **Volume XLVI, Number 2, Spring 1954**

Published by The Ontario Historical Society, 1954

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### **The Ontario Historical Society**

Established in 1888, the OHS is a non-profit corporation and registered charity; a non-government group bringing together people of all ages, all walks of life and all cultural backgrounds interested in preserving some aspect of Ontario's history.

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# ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XLVI  
NUMBER 2



PAPERS &  
RECORDS

## ONTARIO HISTORY

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TORONTO : PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE SOCIETY : 1954  
Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa

## THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This Society was organized under the name of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' on the 4th of September 1888, and reorganized as 'The Ontario Historical Society' in 1898.

In general, the object of the Society is to develop within the Province the study of history, particularly the history of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. The name of the annual publication was changed in 1947 to *Ontario History*, and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members. In addition, ten special publications of documentary material have been published.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the Province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate (\$2 a year), life (\$50), sustaining (\$10 a year, six consecutive payments constituting life membership), and annual (\$2). Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 206 Huron Street, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee for 1953-54 is: President, T. R. Woodhouse; First Vice-President, Leslie R. Gray; Second Vice-President, Miss Lillian Benson; Secretary-Treasurer, J. C. Boylen; Immediate Past President, Miss Jean Waldie; Additional members: W. E. Hanna, Dr. E. Milner, Dr G. F. G. Stanley, J. M. Gray.

# ONTARIO HISTORY

The Quarterly Journal of the Ontario Historical Society  
W. E. Hanna, Editor.

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Single copies: 60 cents.

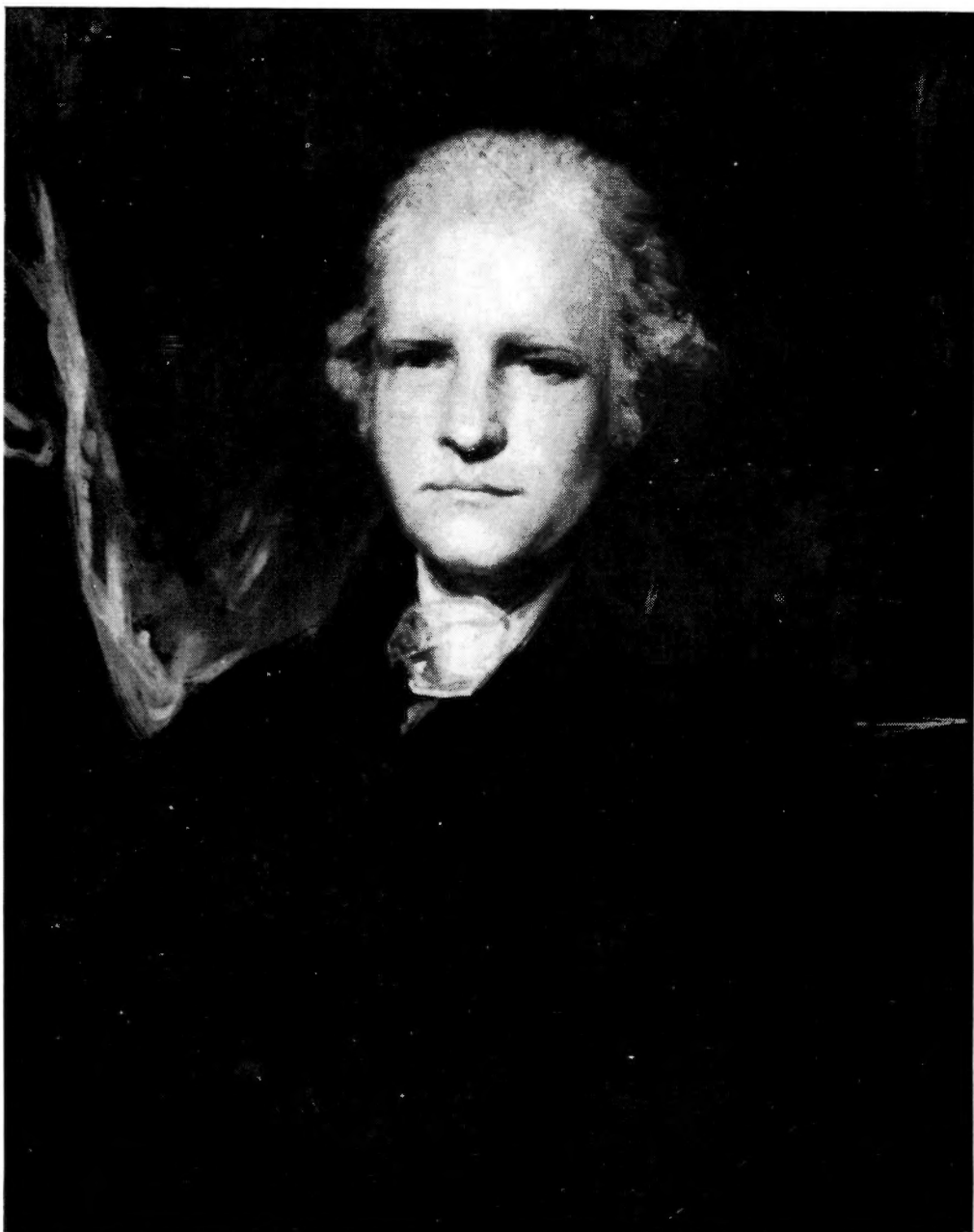
Address all manuscripts and communications to the Editor, 182 Rosewell Ave.,  
Toronto 12, Ontario.



*"The knowledge of past times is naturally growing less in all cases not of publick record; and the past time of Scotland is so unlike the present, that it is already difficult for a Scotchman to imagine the economy of his grandfather."*

SAMUEL JOHNSON TO JAMES BOSWELL,

OCTOBER 27, 1779.



John Hoppner, R.A.

*William Osgood*

LETTERS FROM THE HONOURABLE CHIEF JUSTICE  
WILLIAM OSGOODE

A SELECTION FROM HIS CANADIAN CORRESPONDENCE, 1791-1801

Edited, with an Introduction and Notes

By William Colgate

Of all persons eminent in the early life of Upper Canada William Osgoode, first chief justice, is probably the least known. He moves fitfully for a decade across the pages of Canadian history, composed, urbane and gravely ceremonious, then vanishes for ever.

In view of the fact that this gentlemen's name has a fair chance of immortality in this Province, [observes John Charles Dent\*] it is to be regretted that so little accurately is known about him, and that only the merest outline of his career has come down to the present time. Many Canadians would gladly know something of the first man who filled the important position of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and the desire for such knowledge is by no means confined to members of the legal profession. He was the faithful friend and adviser of our first Lieutenant-Governor, and it is doubtless to his legal acumen that we owe those eight wise statutes which were passed during the first session of our Provincial Parliament, which assembled at Newark on the 17th of September 1792.

At the time when Dent compiled his now all but forgotten work, the voluminous mass of manuscript, which has since come to light, was then hidden in the musty recesses of the Colonial archives of the Public Record Office, London, in private collections, and in old files of personal correspondence. Canadian historians who have dealt with the life of Osgoode—D. B. Read in *Lives of the Judges* (1888), and William Renwick Riddell in *Upper Canada Sketches* (1921), and in *The Life and Times of John Graves Simcoe* (1926)—do very well by him. Of the two recorders Riddell gives the more complete account, and, because written at a much later date, probably the more accurate.

Valuable as these secondary sources are, however, the Osgoode-Simcoe letters, C.O. 42, Series Q, of the Public Archives of Canada, and those acquired by the University of Toronto Library in 1948, and later transferred (in 1953) to the Provincial Archives of Ontario, reveal much that is fresh and important of William Osgoode and his life in Canada. These original letters, drafts and transcriptions, hitherto unpublished, I have been privileged to copy through the courtesy of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb of the Public Archives of Canada, Mr. W. Stewart Wallace, Librarian of the University of Toronto and more recently, by Dr. George W. Spragge, Ontario Archivist.

The letters written by William Osgoode while in Canada number all told about two hundred, most of which are preserved by the Public Archives in Ottawa. All but a few of these are addressed to John Graves Simcoe, as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, with whom Osgoode maintained a constant and friendly intercourse. Later, on his return to England, he was to be of some assistance to Mrs. Simcoe in her efforts

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\**Canadian Portrait Gallery*, Toronto, 1880-81, vol. iii, p. 133.

to obtain from the English government a fuller recognition of the benefits derived from her husband's administration in Canada and in San Domingo.

Among the salient topics of Osgoode's correspondence are the establishment of a supreme court in Upper Canada to which he was firmly committed, the urgent need of professionally trained pleaders in the courts—John White the Attorney General and one other member of the bar were the only qualified practitioners in Upper Canada at the time—the fierce controversy over the Marriage Bill, later enacted, the move to abolish slavery in the Province, also a subject of bitter dispute, and the need for the exercise of greater care in the disposal of crown lands to would-be settlers. There was much besides. His relations with Dorchester, by no means always happy, are brought into sharp focus; and his zealous and unrelenting effort to preserve the dignity and integrity of the bench and bar is made manifest at every turn. His stubborn determination to uphold what he believed correct in court procedure and in the affairs of the colony generally shows with a transparent candour.

The last letter of which we have record is dated 19 October 1821, not quite three years before his death, and takes the form of a petition addressed to the Earl of Bathurst, one of the secretaries of state, requesting the payment of arrears of pension, caused, so it was alleged, by a change of control in the revenue department at Quebec. Full payment was subsequently made.

To the reader of Osgoode's Letters it must appear strange that the judiciary in early Canada should have been actively concerned with its politics. But so it was; not at Osgoode's desire, though as a member of the Legislative Council, coopted to help frame the laws of the land, he had no alternative. It was not until 1857 (21 Vic. chap. 22) that judges were able to dissociate themselves from their purely legislative functions to devote their attention to judicial affairs exclusively.

In the library of Osgoode Hall, Toronto, are preserved in the H. S. Osler collection, two bound volumes of original letters written by Osgoode and his friends in England. These letters are largely personal and relate to life at Oxford and later, and have little or nothing to do with public affairs. They display, however, all the wit and humour and intimate frankness commonly shown in friendships of long standing. Excerpts have been taken from them, but the correspondence as a whole has yet to be published. They throw much light on Osgoode's life in England, and on the two occasions at least when he visited France.

The reasons leading to Osgoode's appointment to Upper Canada have been the subject of much speculation. His published comment on Blackstone's laws of descent excepted, he seems to have been only moderately distinguished as a lawyer, and, as later events were to prove, not greatly ridden by ambition, for in a letter to William Dummer Powell, from Newark, 9 September 1793, he takes occasion to say that he himself did not apply for the position of chief justice. But since, regrettably, he did

not choose to elaborate, the mystery remains. Yet in spite of his love of ease, about which his friends twitted him, and the social amenities of London, he chose to accompany Simcoe as chief justice of the newly-created province of Upper Canada, then devoid of the comforts and often the decencies of ordinary civilized life. To one surrounded by the multiple conveniences of a push-button age, the venture would seem to have required a lofty sense of public duty and a moral and physical courage of a high order.

In preparing the following letters for the printer I have carefully observed the capitalization, spelling and, for the most part, the punctuation of the originals, though for the contemporary long s, and the ligatures which accompany it, since modern type fonts make no provision for them, I have substituted of necessity the later and more familiar forms. I have not thought it essential, however, to correct what to modern eyes must appear as misspellings, but in the easier going eighteenth century one may suppose was common usage. Nor have I felt obliged always to draw attention to slips when the context left no doubt of the writer's meaning. Footnotes are inserted whenever the text seems to call for them: to state a source, to elucidate a reference, or to identify a person not well known.

Few, very few indeed, of the letters selected for publication have hitherto appeared in print. Almost all are here published for the first time.

P.R.O., C.O.R. 42/21, Quebec Miscellaneous

From WILLIAM OSGOODE to the Rt. Honourable HENRY DUNDAS

Sir:

On my return from the Circuit this Morning I found a note from Colonel Simcoe informing me that it was expected I should take my Departure with him for Canada in the Course of the Month.

From the Information I had received from various Quarters that the 10th of August was the latest period of Departure with any Certainty of a passage up the River Saint Lawrence, I had concluded that our Voyage could not take place till early in the ensuing Spring.

From notions of Discretion I did not wish to be premature in taking steps towards the settlement of my own Affairs or those in which I am concerned for others, till I should have had the honour of paying my personal Respects to his honour the Secretary of State, nor had I made any preparation for those innumerable Articles which will be wanting in an Establishment in Upper Canada, and which in Fact no Foresight can compass till the want of them is felt by continued Experience.

From the same motives of Prudence I have not communicated so freely with my brethren of the Profession on the different Arrangements it may be needful to make in attempting to simplify and adapt the Artificial practice of proceedings of English Jurisprudence to the Circumstances of an Infant Colony—Nor of the most advisable form of framing the Acts by which such laws are to be introduced—& I confess I should proceed with greater satisfaction to the Duties of my Office if my Notions on those Subjects were more distinctly settled.

Colonel Simcoe seems to think he must winter in Quebec or Montreal and that he shall not be able to penetrate into the Upper Province until the River is open. He has been pleased to say that tho my company would give him pleasure, he does not see that my Attendance during the Winter Months is altogether necessary—Vessels arrive from Britain as soon as possible after the River is open—so that a Passage in the earliest Spring Ship would enable me to proceed in a very short time after him, or by way of New York I might arrive in the Upper Province before him.

If therefore Sir, you do not deem it absolutely necessary that I should pass the Winter in Lower Canada, I confess that the permission to defer my departure until after Christmas would be a great Indulgence—It would add to the more comfortable & satisfactory discharge of my public Duty & greatly to the Convenience of my private Affairs.

To the Rt Honourable  
HENRY DUNDAS  
Secretary of State, etc.  
Lincoln's Inn  
Aug. 12th, 1791

I have the honour to be with  
the greatest Respect Sir  
Your most obliged & most  
obedient humble Servant  
Wm OSGOODE

Subsequently Osgoode exerts his influence with Evan Nepean, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, then in charge of colonial affairs, to have John White appointed first Attorney General for Upper Canada. White came to Canada with Osgoode where he proved himself a capable lawyer and Government official. A social indiscretion led to a duel with John Small, clerk of the Executive Council, at York in January 1800, in which he was killed. He sat for one term as representative for the riding of Leeds and Frontenac in the first Legislative Assembly. He assisted in the formation of the Upper Canada Law Society in 1797, and he all but succeeded in introducing the English system whereby the dual functions of barrister and solicitor were kept separate.

Public Record Office, C.O.R. 42/21

From OSGOODE to EVAN NEPEAN

Sir:

Mr King having desired me to look out for some suitable person for the Office of Attorney General for the Province of Upper Canada, I made as extensive an Enquiry as I decently could without making a direct Application to any one. Very few persons were named—and of them the most desirable mentioned was a *Mr White* who was regularly educated under a Special Pleader of Eminence and afterwards called to the Bar some time in the year 1785—Soon after he went to practice in Jamaica, but not succeeding there he returned to this Country and now resides with his wife & family in Wales, meaning to take Orders.

Mr. White is not personally known to me, but was mentioned by Mr Shepherd, A Barrister of considerable practice and great Respectability who has married Mr W.'s sister.

From a long acquaintance with Mr. Shepherd I place great Confidence in him—He represents Mr White as a person of liberal Education & correct Understanding, as well informed in his profession & as a well affected subject—I took the Freedom to suggest that Strict Enquiry wd be made into his Character since any unpleasant Disclosure might be painful—he said Mr White's character was without Reproach.

I stated the Salary at £300 per annum with a possibility of some small Additions from other tenable Appointments.

If, Sir, no person more Acceptable has been mentioned and you will take the trouble to submit this to the Secretary of State he will exercise his Judgement accordingly. I am, etc.,

Wm OSGOODE

To Evan Nepean, Esqr

Lincoln's Inn: Augt 13, 1791.

Toronto Public Library

W. D. Powell Papers, A31.

From OSGOODE to WM. DUMMER POWELL

[Newark] Navy Hall, Sept 9, 1793.

Dear Sir:

Within a few days after the precept was signed for the Midland and Eastern Districts we received Intelligence that You were on Your Route to this place—My Departure then was no longer optional—I still hoped for the pleasure of seeing You before the Vessel should sail but was disappointed—On my return to Kingston from the Eastern Circuit I received your Letter of the 12th of August—I was there detained a Week, awaiting for a Wind to proceed and pay my Respects to the Governor, was under the Necessity of remaining nine days at York without House or Comfort and Yesterday made my Escape to this place where I think myself in Elysium.

The answer to the Observations mentioned in Your Letter I hope You will do me the Justice to believe that I would never either propose or accede to any Measure whereby You should suffer in Rank or Emolument by the Arrangement intended—it was not conceived that You would be affected in either, but on the Contrary should the District Court continue it was thought to be rather a Derogation that a Judge of the Supreme Court should sit at them—Colonel Simcoe from Apprehending that some of the Persons who at present preside in the district Courts would be jealous of the smallest Diminution of their power, and obstruct as far as they could any Measures tending to that effect was extremely anxious for the speedy Establishment of the Supreme Court—Several Reasons rendered it altogether impossible to bring forward any plan during the last Sessions, it was therefore postponed to the next meeting of the Legislature—From a Conversation with his Excellency at York I find that he mistook my Meaning when I proposed to defer the Measure and I am further convinced that He misapprehended me by a Sentence in Your Letter "Since a Supreme Court is inadvisable"—On the Contrary, I am of Opinion that it is not only advisable but desirable—for it cannot be expected that Gentlemen who have not had a professional Education should be competent to hold Pleas of Real Property or to direct a Jury on many of the points that may come before them—but as the Supreme Court ought to be stationary—Tho I suggested some difficulties from the want of easy means of Intercourse and the unsettled state of the Country—I did by no means start Objections, and am still Convinced that in all matters of Consequence whatever Difficulties or delays may proceed from resorting to a Supreme Court they will be more than counter-balanced by the Advantages arising from a regular and unsuspected Administration of Justice—to all enlightened Minds this Circumstance must be obvious—and as Government has provided for the Institu-

tion I think the province should not be deprived of it. It may still be found convenient to preserve their local Jurisdictions under certain Limitations which of course will render it unsuitable for a Judge of the Supreme Court to remain there—I understand it to be the intention of Government that these Courts should be superseded—If You think Your interests will be affected by the Measure and have any other plan to suggest I should be happy to receive Your Idea on the subject.

I am sorry to observe a Cast of Chagrin & disquietude overshadowing Your Letter, and nothing would afford me greater Pleasure than to [be] able to remove it—With respect to Colonel Simcoe notwithstanding that wicked attack upon Your Reputation on his Arrival I am convinced he never entertained an idea to Your prejudice for He put the Letter into my hands and forestalled my Opinion upon it as a weak and infamous Forgery. With Regard to my knowledge of any secret Objection made to You at Home which You say has been suggested to your Family by Mr Sayer I do in all truth assure You that instead of having heard anything to Your disadvantage as far as I can recollect it was from Mr S. that I first knew there was such a Person as Mr. Powell in Existence, and this was some time after I had accepted the place I hold, as I did not ask for it I could have no Competitor, & it was confirmed to me for some time before I knew the Named Person or Pretensions of any one in the Establishment—Montreal was mentioned to me as the probable seat of Government and it was some time before I was undeceived in that particular—From Mr Tod & Mr Robinson I picked up Information merely local. From Colonel Simcoe I learnt that Mr. Peters' expected to be appointed Bishop but with regard to any Application made by Yourself or Friends for any place or Station or of any Obstruction cast in Your way I never heard one tittle.

The Misery I suffer when on the Lake does not induce me to undertake more Voyages than are absolutely necessary—I cannot therefore promise myself the Pleasure of seeing You this Fall—The Attorney General—Mr White—will attend the Western Circuit and give You an Account of all the Occurrences of this place—we have nothing from Europe later than 10 June but expect that some material Events must have happened on the Continent ere this. The Day after I left York his Excellency intended to set out upon an Expedition to explore the Communication between Lakes Huron & Ontario—"Tis much to be lamented that the Americans & the Indians could not come to a lasting Settlement as we must be inconvenienced by [the] continuation of hostilities. I should be very happy to hear from You and to learn that Mrs P and Yourself are recovered from the Fatigues of your Journey and that Your Spirits are rather more afloat than when You wrote last—I frequently experience unpleasant Moments but thank God they are of no long Continuance—May You enjoy the same benefit.

I am with Great Regard,  
Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Wm. OSGOODE

Endorsed Wm Osgoode 9 Sept 1793

(1) The Reverend Dr. Samuel Peters of Hebron, Connecticut, was named by Simcoe as first bishop of Upper Canada. He failed of election. See "Bishop" Peters, by A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto. Dr. Peters was the father-in-law of William Jarvis, first Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada, 1792-1817.

Toronto Public Reference Library  
W. D. Powell Papers, A31

From OSGOODE to WM. DUMMER POWELL<sup>2</sup>

Wm. Osgoode is infinitely obliged to Wm. Powell for his offer, but from the Experience he has had this Day of the Effects of a Canadian Sun he has resolved not to commit himself to its Visitation unless in cases of absolute necessity he therefore depends upon Mr P's Goodness to Excuse him—

Monday Eve

Ontario Archives

(Private)

Navy Hall, Novr 14, 1793

From OSGOODE to JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

Dear Sir/

I was duly honoured with Your Excellency's Packet containing among other papers the letters from yourself both [of] which were liable to the heavy Objection made by the Cold blooded Governor of New York to those you sent him in the Day of your Captivity, namely that they were both without date.

I am clearly of Opinion with Your Excellency that should it appear that the Rum or the greater part of it which is imported from lower Canada was manufactured at Montreal, it would be very impolitic in this Province to encourage a traffic so injurious to our own Staple Commodity or rather not to discourage it—The Chief Reason that induced me to object to it was in the first place there was no Necessity to raise Funds to such Amount as the slightest Duty on that Commodity would produce—and secondly that it would excite immediate Jealousy and Complaints from our Neighbours—Not to mention the Inconvenience and Expense of establishing Custom Houses—Instead of opposing the Measure the House of Assembly passed a Bill laying a Duty of four Pence per Gallon which was lost in the Upper House—The Chief Motive that actuated the Members of the Assembly was that they should thereby suspend the Necessity of a Land Tax and provide funds sufficient for every Exigency of the province, Their own Wages included.

I do not perceive that Salt is among the Articles permitted to be imported—The Case of the Inhabitants of the Genessee as mentioned by Your Excellency is undoubtedly very hard, and I conceive that the Measure suggested by You will be best calculated to pursue [preserve] Tranquillity in the Quarter—the only Objection that occurs is the possibility that under the Sanction of such Permission numbers may assemble so as to dispose of the Garrison by a Coup de main—Whatever is done must be by Connivance merely—I do not pretend to fathom the designs of those who are concerned in Indian politics—Butler and Brandt [sic] appear to be much more cordial than they were heretofore—A rumour prevails here that an action has taken place and that the Indians have sent in several trophies to Detroit the news came from the Fort, the particulars on which this Report is founded will probably be sent to York by this Opportunity.

I am much flattered by Your Excellency's Communication of General

(2) This note of regret was probably written in the summer of 1793. The Chief Justice had evidently not yet adapted himself to the rigours of the Canadian climate.

[Alured] Clarke's Letters—His Situation for many Months have been very unpleasant. In fact he has been the Victim of the Coquetry between the Ministry and Lord Dorchester—The one would not give particular Orders to depart and the Other would not apply for Liberty to stay—the General's hint of the approaching Visit is very friendly—and we all look for it as a matter of Course—I do not conceive it could have been originally suggested by the Master Wire worker but presume when it was first hinted to him he was not wanting in Argument to enforce the propriety of it—Perhaps it may be gratifying to the Individual to find from personal Experience that altho the province is divided his dominion is entire.

I learn from Jarvis that no Land board has been holden for several Months past—Complaints have been made that the Council are not disposed to confirm their proceedings but to counteract them. This I foresaw was to be the Consequences of a Resolve of Council upon a Petition presented from [him] requesting a Confirmation of Grant made by the Land board of many hundred Acres more than they are authorized to make, and of Land which was not the property of the Crown at the time of making the Grant—If I might presume to suggest so far I think there would be no Impropriety in Your Excellency's adding Mr Jarvis' to the Board—I mentioned to him Your observations of the Conduct he ought to hold upon hearing any improper Language—With regard to the matter of the Right of drawing up Petitions—I believe it had better be left to the Parties themselves. Since the Winter has set in I have heard of no Apprehensions respecting the Contagion at Philadelphia—the best Opinion is that it has been merely local—A Journey across the Mountains at this Season of the year would purify most Complaints.

Lieutenant Pilkington has been apprized of Your Excellency's orders respecting any attempt to build upon the Military Communications and he will take care that they shall be enforced. He has not heard of any buildings by Swayzie.

The Bill for trading Commissioner will of course be laid before the Assembly by Lord Dorchester—It will be a tedious business and I fear at last ineffectual—however, whatever may be the result it was the most prudent Scheme that could have been adopted—but the Jealousy & Selfishness of Commerce are not very friendly to a spirit of Accommodation.

With regard to the Marriage Bill had I conceived that the plan of it would have been so readily adopted by the Advocate General on the part of my Lords the Bishops they should not have been troubled with the detail of it—for the purpose of merely suggesting an Amendment which may have been provided for in the Bill that has actually passed.

John King expresses his "hopes that by the lieut Governor's management the "Americans may get sick of the Indian War and afford a good "Moment at least for the Appointment of Congress to settle all differences "as well relating to the Boundaries as otherwise and if they will but give "and take a little the whole I trust may be amicably concluded."

He does not seem to be aware that it is the wish & the Interest of a party in the States to keep up a body of Forces on any pretence whatever, and that therefore any Effort in this County must be unavailable. He says "we are sending you over a Bishop John [Jacob] *Quebec* who is "to be a Lord Bishop as You will find."—I am quite surprised at the title of the See which is already governed by a Bishop & Coadjutor and

(3) William Jarvis, a native of Connecticut and a United Empire Loyalist, served with the British forces in the American Revolutionary War. He was subsequently appointed first Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada under Simcoe. He died at York (Toronto) in 1817.

am fearful it may give Umbrage to the Canadians who seem to want no incentive to make them unreasonable.

Mr Sewall is returned from Kingston and informs me he has had a very pressing Letter from Mr Duncan to know the Amount of the Fees of a Township—The more I think of this matter the more I am convinced that Your Excellency will receive no Directions from Home upon the Subject—and till it is settled it will be a Source of Disquietude to the whole province.

I propose with Your Excellency's Sanction to hold a Court of Oyer & Terminer and General Gaol delivery (although there would be neither Prisoner nor Gaol in the home district) before the close of the Year 1793 that the County may see, what they begin almost to doubt it from the Inactivity and Supineness of the magistrates, that the King's Courts are open for the trial & Punishment of Offenders.

We are put to a great Inconvenience for want of the publication of the Acts of the Last Session till now the printer<sup>4</sup> has been confined by the Fever, but he cannot work without a stove, and an Assistant—He has been worn down with Sickness, therefore I cannot say anything harsh to him but at times I am induced to think he is very indifferent about his Business.

I am going to observe that Since the new Commission of the peace, and the resolve of the Council with regard to the Excessive Authority assumed by the Land Board that there is a manifest Reluctance on the part of those who used heretofore to take the lead to give any Assistance towards the forwarding of public Business—I should conceive this backwardness may be attributed to various Causes which will readily suggest themselves to Your Excellency—One would not wish to give them Occasion to say that Authority in all instances is taken out of their hands and given to Strangers, and for that Reason I am glad that the newly appointed Justices have not shown the least Disposition to bring forward any public Business but should another Quarter Sessions prove as inefficient as the last a more active Spirit must be adopted by those who are desirous that Something should be done for the benefit of the Country.

I have the Honour to be with the  
greatest Respect

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant

Wm OSGOODE.

Osgoode alludes to the strange ways of Lord Dorchester and his tight-lipped policy of keeping matters of public interest secret from the Chief Justice. Osgoode's efforts to establish harmonious relations with the Governor were not very successful, particularly in the matter of legal appointments and Land Board business.

Ontario Archives.

(*Secret and Most Confidential*)

[Quebec] Jany 30, 1795.

From OSGOODE to LT. GOVERNOR J. G. SIMCOE

My dear Sir/

\* \* \* \* \*

Your first of the 29 Octr. gave me an Account of Your happy return from the Upper Country—Your Complaint of the Want of Communica-

(4) Louis Roy, first King's printer of Upper Canada, 1792-1794.

tions, tho' not necessary to justify your Conduct might have prevented a great deal of Anxiety and Inconvenience on Your Part—And it is a pleasing Reflexion that you have not been wanting in making that just Representation of the Exertions of others which perhaps has been withheld in Your own Case—There certainly are Virtues & Vices or Merits and demerits if you prefer calling them so attached to the different Stages of Life. Old Age if abounding in Prudence is almost always defective in Generosity perhaps it is incident to our wretched Nature that much Inter-course with the World contracts the Exercise of those charming Qualities Candour & Liberality—Hence a Man suffers from a Misplaced Confidence, and who has travelled half his Career without such a Check? He becomes Cautious Jealous and unjust—but I begin to preach—It is Sunday I don't go to Sermons in Winter but when I want them as the frenchman said of Books *J'en fait*—You Suggest an Idea of incorporating a Town of Niagara—It is at present much more wanted for the City of Quebec repeated applications have been made here for that purpose and the draft of a Charter has been made out—No man can Deny but in this place it might be directed to very useful purposes which could not so well be obtained by any other Medium, but still the policy of such a Measure after the Experience we had at Home during Lord Shaftesbury's time and in the dawn of Jack Wilkes' patriotism, together with the Conduct of the Mayor & Corporation of New York in the Colonies is no longer a matter of Doubt—Repeated Experience has proved it to be a most powerful Engine in the hands of an Unprincipled Demagogue—and in a free State my Cunning Workman is happy to find such a Tool to make his Way in the World—The prevailing Opinion is that Charters do not tend to promote but rather to Check Trade & Manufactures they are useful for purposes of Police—but more useful for the purposes of Faction—It was one of the few Subjects on which I spoke to Mr Dundas he did not approve of Incorporations Nor does your humble Servant for the Reasons aforsd—

Your next Letter is on the Subject of my Successor I have little doubt that it will be Mr Strange' unless the Duke of Portland has some Person whom he wishes to Prefer—His Conduct at Halifax has made him very popular & deservedly Esteemed and according to the Usual Liberality with which promises are held out to Persons Engaging in a New Situation, He was taught to look for the best Promotion in this Part of the World You will probably find him a more Complacent Help Mate though not a more Sincere one than your former—He will be less explicit and therefore to most Persons more Acceptable, but I can no more disguise my Sentiments in matters of Importance to a person whom I really respect—than I could wilfully deceive him—I do not mean thereby to insinuate that he is a Man of Duplicity for I never knew or heard any thing of him to his Discredit in the Slightest degree, otherwise I should not have mentioned him—but when a Comparison is made I feel it necessary to make an Excuse for my Native bluntness—I was mistaken in believing him to be married—

You presume it will be made public here that the Posts are to remain in Statu Quo the truer presumption is that nothing is made public. All matters both important & trifling are inveloped in tenfold Mystery—I

(5) Sir Thomas A. L. Strange, was chief justice of Nova Scotia from 1789 to 1798. In spite of Simcoe's recommendation to the Home Office, he was not appointed to Upper Canada, but was delegated to India instead. Indeed, no successor to Osgoode was named until after Simcoe's return to England in 1796, when John Elmsley was appointed.

remained many Days at Montreal on my Arrival in Expectation that his lordship would come there the next Day, which every body predicted altho they all admitted nothing certain was known. For a long time our Intercourse was extremely slight and it will never become intimate—Confidence is a plant of Slow Growth in an Aged bosom said Lord Chatham, but when the soil is so very ungenial we cannot expect it even to breed—I had the Misfortune to be of a different Opinion on the finl Measure that was brought forward for Confirmation of Council, which in my Conception involved an Act of Injustice to future Governors—I acted according to my Conscience, but this Necefsary Act of Resistance You will readily imagine did not increaze our Cordiality—Another Business was introduced very irregularly / I thought it my Duty to make some Representations but waived it that I might not incur the Suspicion of being impracticable—Soon after a third Matter engaged our Attention which if acquiesced in might eventually draw every Member who had a Seat in the Courts of Justice into an embarafsing Situation—I stated some objections not by way of Opposition in a formal manner but as a Subject of Consideration—It was however Persisted in—Before it came on I requested an Audience of his Lordship to State my Motives and explain my Conduct that I might not be misinterpreted—to disavow every principle of Opposition which Independently of my Situation as an officer of Governt. I generally held in Abhorrence in my Private Capacity I therefore thought it my Duty to acquaint him before hand with my Reasons for Objecting to the Measure (in which I was fortunately supported by a Letter from Lord Mansfield in the name of the twelve Judges of England addressed to the Lord Keeper on a Similar Occasion) and left it to his Lordship whether he would force one of the Alternative—That instead of looking for Occasions of dissenting I would never take such a step unless I were driven to it for as long as He would honour me with an audience I would always state my Objections to him personally Before I should mention them to others. & he might pursue such Course as he thought most advisable. This Explanation brought on a number of Civil Speeches and I hope tended to do away an Impression I am convinced he had received that I came with a Disposition to thwart the Proceedings of his Government—The Measure was not persisted in—The Duke of Portlands Appointment to the Home Department gave an Evident Satisfaction to the Inhabitant of the Castle of St Lewis which arose perhaps not so much from the Nomination of his Grace as the Departure of his Predecessor—for Independently of the Natural Avenues between the Shannon & the Tweed Several Measures have been lately adopted & Men preferred without consulting his Lordship which of course did not increase their Cordiality—The Cause of his Dissatisfaction must be allowed to be natural—But the Effects of it as they are now understood must tend considerably to abate the Zeal of all those who entertained any Hopes from his good Offices—for He will not interfere in behalf of any One /

The History of the Flour Contract involves a variety of Interests, and the Contract aspired to from various Motives, whatever may be mentioned of the Rights of Comissary Gray is [a] matter of mere pretext for it is well known that He is in no great Odour at the Chateau and whatever interference comes from this Quarter is Assignable from the different Motives from any Concern for his Welfare—I am so well convinced of the Influence to be derived from it—that I have made no Scruple to say that it is an unfair Thing towards those who are expected to carry on the Government of the Province to furnish Weapons for the Hands of Opposition—But after all I believe little Regard will be had to the

Representations of any Parties in this Province or the next be their designs wicked or Charitable—Should it suit the Views of Robinson & Atkinson to have the Management of it—You have thought proper to name me as a Referee upon the Occasion but very justly conclude that the Question will not be put to me I am suspected of being an interested or at least too partial a Witness—Do you know whether the Ex-Justices of the Midland & home Districts owed their Management & Share of the Contract to any Influence in *this* part of the World. I have more than once taken occasion to mention with a Degree of Exultation the Contempt with which the Opposition to the Judicature Bill was treated in Your House of Assembly—but it did not seem to afford any Satisfaction to others. Has Mr C<sup>e</sup> any intention to repeat his visit to Quebec this winter?

Instead of 90 Townships being granted by this Province hardly any have been disposed. Warrants of Survey only have been ordered to be made out and a Short Course will be taken as appears by the Advertisement in ye December Gazette to make due Enquiries Respecting those who are permitted to Settle—and my Endeavours shall not be wanting the lavish Disposal of the Country—These Gentry are insatiate Mr Duncan has requested my Interest to procure him a Gore of Land of Indefinite Extent near the Line 45—I observe that his Associate Coll. McGregor is an other Character in New York the very Nest & Hotbed of Turbulence and Disaffection—I very much Question the policy of forcing the population—I may be answered do You expect they will start from the Earth like pine Trees—I reply no but having admitted a Given Number, and if they cd be ascertained not exceeding the old settlers & avowed Loyalists I would restrain my Bounty for a Season and trust to Nature's Encrease for real native subjects /

Your Table of Fees of £8 for 1200 Acres will not be confirmed if at Home they continue of the same mind An Estimate was framed here amounting to somewhat more than £7 : which was rejected as being excefsive ; the last that has been formed is near £4 : Mr Finlay has returned Re Infecta as I understand—He thinks his project would have been adopted had it been recommended by Lord D—who did not think proper to do so. V audivi [?] as the Law Reporters say. You ask my Opinion on the Legality of making the Reserves in these Townships “which were in great part filled up & granted previously to the Establishment of the Government in Upper Canada”—I apprehend that any of the ungranted parts of Townships partly granted are at the disposal of the Governor & Council for making Reserves when they may deem such to be desirable for any Public Purposes—You will please to recollect You are directed by the Act to make reserves in respect of the Lands then already Granted Whether this is to be done in district patches or large Masses is left to the Discretion of the Executive Council as no express Directions are given on that Subject—I conceive in answer to Your Second Query that Lord D by virtue of his Commission is ipso facto Governor of Upper Canada and that upon his Entrance into the Province he is competent to the Exercise of any Functions as Governor but when it may be requisite to call for the advice & counsl of the Executive Council it will be expedient to Qualify himself in manner conformable to the private Instructions—which have almost escaped my Recollection for here they are among the arcana Imperii—And by the bye very unjustly so to those who are occasionally Consulted on matters which are regulated by those Instructions which are kept thus from profane Inspection /

\* \* \* \* \*

(6) Richard Cartwright, Jr. See *Life and Letter of the late Hon. Richard Cartwright, 1759-1815*. Edited by the Rev. C. E. Cartwright, Toronto, Belford 1876.

REMARKS *1706*  
ON THE *sancti wakefeld*  
LAWS of DESCENT;  
*Lincolns Inn*  
AND ON THE  
REASONS  
ASSIGNED BY  
Mr. JUSTICE BLACKSTONE,  
FOR REJECTING, IN HIS  
TABLE of DESCENT,  
A POINT OF DOCTRINE LAID DOWN IN  
PLOWDEN, Lord BACON, and HALE.  
*By William Osgoode Esquire*

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L O N D O N :

Printed by W. STRAHAN, and M. WOODFALL, LAW-PRINTERS  
to the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

For E. BROOKE in Bell-Yard Temple-Bar, and T. WHIELDON  
and Co. opposite Fetter-Lane, Fleet-street.  
MDCCLXXIX.

Title page of thesis contesting the views of Chief Justice Blackstone on the laws of descent. Published anonymously in 1779, by Osgoode, then a young graduating student of Lincoln's Inn. An original copy of this rare book is in the Library of Osgoode Hall, Toronto, from which this title page is taken.

I suspect that I shall be constrained in self defence to assume if practicable a very different mode of Conduct from that which I was wont to observe—From the generous Confidence you were pleased to repose in me I felt our Intercourse to be cordial and secure and do not recollect that I ever disguised my Sentiments on any occasion whether important or Ordinary, and having observed the same Franknefs here I begin to suspect it is imputed to imbecillity for instead of begetting that Confidence which an open and direct procedure ought to create, it seems to have generated a Disposition to Sift and obtain my Opinions on various Subjects mostly unimportant without communicating any Reason for requiring them when if the Reason were disclosed (which I frequently perceive) no great Mystery would be discovered—But it really lessens a Man in his own Esteem when he observes another attempt to make him the Dupe of a Shallow Stratagem more especially in trifling Concerns and drives him to a Course of Duplicity however repugnant it may be to his Natural Disposition—If I can Scrutinize my own Motives, my Picque does not so much arise from not being treated Confidentially on serious Affairs as from having my Sincerity in Small Concerns imputed as a Weaknefs—I will endeavour to put on a Coat & Waistcoat of Reserve & Insidiousnefs and perhaps I shall be more in Uniform—The only tendency to a discourse on general Politics of the Provinces was soon after I received Your letter in which you mention the Resolution at Home respecting the Posts—the Line was cast into the Shallow Stream baited with this observation “I see in an American Paper a Proposal of having a Néutral Country between the States & the Canadas”—however the Gudgeon did not take the Hook further than by observing it was an idea of Mr Dundas three Years ago—Some Applications have been made to him for his Interest in the Appointment of [a] Chief Justice in Upper Canada (as I conceive) and also some Representation of the defective Administration of Justice but what End of purpose they will answer I know not—From not having been consulted in any of the principal Appointments (it is said) He [neither] asks for nor interferes in any Patronage which is not avowedly within his own Disposal—and the want of Judges in U C He can neither Remedy nor complain of —

I almost regret that I did not close with a Proposition You made just before my Departure to establish a Cypher—The Reason why I did not second the offer was that I could not reconcile to my feelings the Idea of betraying any thing imparted to me confidentially—and the Motive inducing me now to conclude that I have no Measures of Delicacy to preserve arises from the length of time that one of Your Letters to me was detained after it was received connected with other Suspicious circumstances—I therefore entrust this Confidential Letter to a Confidential Person and think that a Wafer under a Seal is a good additional Security to all Letters sent by a doubtful Conveyance /

I was much delighted with the propriety of Spirit and Style of your Letter to Mr Hammond<sup>7</sup> in answer to the Observations and opinions of Mr. Randolph and have no doubt but it will be read with equal Satisfaction by your Friend at Home, as well as by the Officers of State who may be more immediately concerned in the political Results of Your Correspondence At all Events You will have no Apologies to make, nor can they censure or involve You in any Responsibility for the Conduct You have

(7) George Hammond, British Minister at Philadelphia, then the capital of the United States.

observd—Before I had Seen it (for I first Saw it in ye Quebec Gazette) it was occasionally a Subject of Conversation in my presence—Of Course I was Silent on the Matter which might be imputed to Reserve The only frank Proceeding I have witnessed was a Direct Question to know what the Expence of embodying the Militia in Up Can amounted. I answerd with truth that to the best of my knowledge I could not tell for there was no thought of embodying them when I left the province but to recur to Warfare If Wayne's Military Talents are not superior to Mr Randolphs polemic Abilities I think you have not much to fear from the Sword or the Pen—What a palpable difference there is between the latter and his predecessor—What does the Resignation of Hamilton<sup>8</sup> & Knox<sup>9</sup> portend? It is doubtless the Interest of this Country—I am talking as if I were in England—to support Washington—the very strong division on the Presidents Censure on Self Constituted Societies shows that the Combustibles are prepared and the opportunity of applying the Torch which the [Gener<sup>l</sup>] has in his Hand is only wanting . . . .

There is good Reason to believe we have taken 4 ships of the line in the Mediterranean but Affairs in the North wear no pleasing Aspect—I hope the matter will be determined before we Engage more Men & Money for the next Campaign—Then subsided they will relax into a proportionate Languor as much below the Standard of their Natural Strength as their late efforts have been above it—We shall have the Consolation of having done our Duty for the preservation of Social Happiness, and our only Business will be to preserve ourselves from being involved in the Vortex.

Mrs. Simcoes departure will be a Loss to us and Lady Dorchesters parties deprived of one of its [sic] principal Ornaments—I forbear to mention any thing respecting our Legislative proceedings for little has hitherto been done and I could point out Business of necessary import that must occupy the Houses for Six Years without Intermissions calculating upon the present progress, - A Formidable Question has been stirred which will necessarily produce a great Conflict between the different Interests and different prejudices of the Landlords & Tenants throughout the Country—It may be an useful Instrument in the Hands of the Disaffected Would it were well at peace! The general Idea is that your Schoolfellow Wyndham will succeed the Duke of Portland who is to replace Earl Fitzwilliam gone to Ireland—I hope to hear from you by the return of the Express and am with great Regard & Affection most truly Yours

Wm. OSGOODE

The subject of the next letter, Joseph Francois Perrault, appears to have been, according to his biographer, a much more estimable person than Osgoode's strictures on him would imply. He had studied law in Montreal, practised in the Court of King's Bench, where he had succeeded in attracting a numerous clientele. A considerable portion of his time was occupied as a translator. One of his most important translations was Simcoe's proclamation of July 16, 1792 at Kingston, announcing the division of Quebec into two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, with details of the new counties of Upper Canada. See P. Bender: *Old and New Canada*,

(8) Alexander Hamilton, United States Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington. He was eminent both as soldier and statesman. He was killed in a duel with Aaron Burr in July 1804.

(9) Major General Henry Knox, United States Secretary of War in Washington's administration.

1755-1844 . . . or the *Life of Joseph Francois Perrault*. Montreal, Dawson, 1882; p. 80-81 et passim.

Ontario Archives.

From OSGOODE to GUY LORD DORCHESTER

[Quebec] May 12 1795

My Lord:

On Friday last I received a Visit from a Gentleman in no Official Situation introducing a person to me in these terms, "Monsieur Je viens vous pressenter le Griffier de votre Cour que Milord Dorchester a bien voulu, &c, &c. - the person thus presented was Mr Perrault lately an unsuccessful Shop keeper at Montreal and known to your Lordp as one of those who made an ineffectual Attempt to obtrude themselves into the Profession by an Act of the Legislature.

These were the first tidings I received either of the Vacancy or the Appointment—Had it been thought necessary to preserve even the Appearance of Attention to the Chief Justice it is not in this manner he would have been first apprized of the Circumstance.

With regard to the Character or Abilities of Mr Perrault I know nothing more than is to be collected from a Certificate of his Probity signed by many respectable Magistrates at Montreal and from a Letter not much in his Favour signed by every Gentleman of the Bar of that District.

Had your Lordship condescended to mention your Intentions on the Subject I should have had the Honour of Representing to You that the Office in Question is of infinite importance to the public requiring great Knowledge and long Experience in the practise of the Court, inasmuch as every Rule, Order or proceeding defectively drawn up will become a fresh Source of Litigation and increased Expense to the Suitors. For this Reason in no Court in England is the Office of Register Prothonotary or Chief Clerk ever obtained till after a constant Attendance and the Experience of twenty or thirty years—I might therefore have presumed to submit to your Lordship my doubts how far Mr Perrault could have acquired a competent knowledge of the practise of the Court in the Course of his retail Transactions at Montreal.

As all persons who may have occasion to prosecute or defend a Suit in this District are materially concerned in this Appointment, their Interests are wisely committed to your Lordship's Protection and cannot be entrusted to more prudent Management—Should however the Executive Power be surprized into the naming a person insufficient to the Discharge of the Duties of this Office—the Law is not Silent on the Subject. In the mean time Your Lordp will permit me to observe that after having endeavoured to vindicate the Credit of the Profession from the Attempts of unqualified Characters, it is a matter of sincere Regret that neither my General Conduct or personal Deportment to the Kings Representative could secure the Profession from so public a Demonstration of the little Esteem in which both are regarded.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect

My Lord,

&c, &c.

Ontario Archives

From OSGOODE to SIMCOE

QUEBEC, May 23 1795

My dear Sir:

You mentioned in your last that you were almost driven to the Wall by the Governor's Conduct of our Noble Commander but that having withstood great as Evils you would not yield to this—tis nobly resolved—On your recommendation I ran over Tully's Epistles to his Brother when a provincial Governor—They are admirably written and will tend to confirm every virtuous principle. One sentence struck me in a most forcible manner as applicable to Yourself with regard to your Conduct touching the Flour Contracts: *Tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati cum omnium rerum confiditatis resistes ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorum paulo cupidorum publicanem compressere non nobis.* I will avouch that your pecuniary savings will be found on the wrong side of the page—And as for the Delights either of Climate, Society, or any of the Comforts of life that you have met with the Catalogue is not very copious. To be debarred of the Management of an important political Engine because a base contractor must be gratified therewith is both ungenerous and unjust—I will now proceed to give you an Account of the Treatment I have received from the sd noble Commander.

During the first three months of my Residence here I send [received] letters from different Quarters on various Subjects many of them connected with my official Situation, wherein I was referred to Accounts, Representations, &c, &c. which had been sent to the Chateau and which my correspondents presumed had been communicated to me—Not being desirous in the first instance to acquaint them that I was in no degree of Confidence, I fenced, parried & evaded their Questions till in the Course of time I believe it came to be discovered that I knew nothing at all about the matter—The first Measure of State on which I was consulted was a petition from a Man at Gaspe addressed to Son Eroig Eallens Milor praying that on Account of the Talents manifested thereby he might be allowed to keep a School. The absurdities of Lingo in the Farce are insipid when compared to the trash this Petition contained—however it was gravely presented to me by the Secretary to look it over that I might be prepared when his Lordship shd speak to me on the Subject—this Elegant Humbug the genuine Offspring of a Genius from Tipperary was played off to feel whether I had Discernment enough to perceive a Sneer or would be silly Enough to resent it—I had prepared an Answer by way of change for the Coin that after serious and mature deliberation I thought the Man qualified to teach Writing but that I entertained considerable Doubts how far the Orthography of his Majesty's subjects might be affected by his Tuition—I believe I mentioned to you the first subject of difference respecting the Governor's relinquishment of Fees and his Desire that they should be abolished in time to come—I thought the Council had no right to bind the Claim of future Governors to receive fees which had been sanctioned by his Majesty and which were voluntary on the part of those who paid them—In the course of the Winter I was honoured with Communications of the most trifling Nature & was fully convinced of the Conduct that was to be held out to me and had Demonstration plain of his timid Conduct to others as will appear by the following Circumstance—On my Arrival here there were four Judges, upon the Establishment of the New Courts it was necessary that one of the two Canadians at Quebec should be stationed at Montreal—Neither

of them wished to be removed, both exerted all their Interest to stay to the great perplexity of his Lordship who was tender of deciding against either.

In his Dilemma matters stood until one fine Morning I was surprised with a verbal Message from the Chateau to know whether I & the two other English Judges would decide the point and acquaint the parties with our determination? Greatly astonished at this most generous delegation of Authority and knowing from what motives it proceeded I instantly answered I thought it a proposal not fitting for the Executive Power to make or the Judges to accept. The Result was Mr De Bonnes Commifision was made out for Quebec and Mr. Panet's for Montreal—He refused to accept it—Mr Monk the Chief Justice thought proper to remain here. In the mean time the first term under the new Judicature Bill came on at Montreal but there were no Judges to open the Court. Of Course the Administration of Justice was at a stand. The Inhabitants justly incensed petitioned the House of Assembly—their allegations were supported by the Evidence of their Barristers by which it appears that upwards of 200 Causes were at issue. Witnesses had been subpoenaed at great Expence from distant Quarters on the faith of the trials coming on besides the Charge of having taken out process which was not acted upon—The House addressed the Governor who promised that the like neglect should not happen in future and an Act was passed to remedy the Discontinuance occasioned by the not holding of the Term—During this time Mr Panet's Commission remained in the Office waiting for his Acceptance of it; an Indignity to which I trust the King's Commission is not often exposed—After four Months had expired it was with drawn and given to another. About a week after to Mr Sewell's appointment to the Attorney Generalship came out his vacant Employ of Solir. Genl & Inspector of the King's domains was offered to this same Mr Panet and refused in terms of such Insolence that the Secretary would not bear his first Answer—After his former Conduct such was the pardon held out to the Crows—You shall now learn how the Doves have been treated—I mentioned in my last the Attack made upon the Bar—The fact is the ample Establishment of the Courts of Justice and the Habit of seeing the Bench filled with unprofessional Men has made every one that can read & write half wild. I could mention a Dozen persons of this description who have an eye to the £500 per Annum.

In order to try the Ground 3 several Bills were passed in behalf of three broken Shopkeepers to exempt them from the Ordinance with only two Negative voices. And Mr McGill who has no contemptible Opinion of his own Talents hinted an Intention to move for a Repeal of the Ordinance altogether that the Bar might be thrown open to all men of Genius—When the Bills came up I thought it my Duty to oppose them—they were warmly supported by a strong Party in our House especially by Mr. Baby who is Perrault's Uncle. He took an opportunity of noticing the Intention which had reached my Ear of throwing the Bar open—enlarged upon the Impolicy and declared if such a Measure shd take place as it had ever been my study not to disgrace the Profession I would take care the Profession shd not disgrace me and would abandon it. Upon a Close Division after the longest debate during the Session the second reading was put off for 3 Months—The next Day his Lordship expressed his satisfaction at the Event and as all Business was over meant to prorogue the Session Thursday, in the mean time would send me a Copy of his Speech for my

Observations—When it came a more crude or costive Composition I never read. The three Divisions consisting each of one sentence only—Knowing his Attachment to Brevity I altered & made some slight Additions, but at the same time observed I thought it too Jejune for the Occasion on account of its being the first Instance of a Supply—My version was adopted and I began to think myself increasing in Confidence. On the day after the Prorogation the most Dramatic Incident occurred that ever I was witness to in reality. Mr. Monk<sup>10</sup> just arrived from Montreal called on me.

The Conversation of course turned immediately on the Subject of the Profession. He regretted his Absence when the Business came on—I somewhat elated at the Event gave him an Account of the Debate and its Issue and that my Satisfaction was increased by his Lordships concurring in the Idea that the Profession ought to be kept as Respectable as possible. Mr Monk's answer was "and after all I have told you repeatedly of this Man's Cunning do you really believe one half of what he says to you?"—I was going to reply—I was going to reply why should I doubt it when the Servant announced Mr Baby who advancing with Mr Perrault<sup>11</sup> (this broken tradesman who by his Lords avowal was an improper Character for the Profession) presented him to me in these words: Monsieur Je suis venu vous presenter le Greffier de votre Cour que Milord Dorchester a bien voulu &c &c—Never was Gentlemen so completely thunderstruck—you may imagine the Reception was not the most cordial—after their Departure Judge of the Triumph of my Visitor.

I have taken the Liberty to express my Sentiments to his Lordship on the occasion & enclose a Copy of my Letter to him—

And this is the Treatment the Doves receive—

But my part is taken—except on the 4th of June and 18 of Jan'y unless I receive some Explanation which I don't expect—I go no more cooing into his Court-yard.

Old Mr M. DeLery applied to me to know if you have any Employ for his Eldest Son lately one of the Garde-du-Corps & who made his Escape from France—I told him nothing was to be expected. Your patronage was so limited, but that I would forward the Enclosed.

I am sorry to hear You have had a return of your Complaint. I hope you are recovered. My respectful Remembrances to Madame—

(Letter unsigned; doubtless a copy or draft)

Osgoode objects to the introduction of tradesmen to the Legislative Council on the ground that they may use their place to advance their private interest—a principle since recognized debars such candidates from sitting not only in Provincial and Federal Houses, but from municipal and township councils as well. In the looser customs of the eighteenth century, Osgoode's attitude toward public and court practices was not common, a disposition which did not tend to make him popular, but none the less made him respected.

(10) James Monk, Chief Justice at Montreal.

(11) Joseph Francois Perrault. He appears to have been well qualified for his appointment.

## NOTICE

## Increase of Fees - Ontario Historical Society

Notice is hereby given that the President, T. R. Woodhouse, will move, or cause to be moved, at the Annual Meeting of the Society at Ottawa on June 10, 11 and 12, 1954 that the Annual Membership fee of Two Dollars be increased to Three Dollars and that the Constitution be amended to establish a Family Membership with only one subscription to ONTARIO HISTORY at an annual fee of Five Dollars. These changes, if approved, will take effect January 1, 1955.

Decision to give this notice was taken at a meeting of the Executive Committee on May 1. The Financial Statement for 1953 appears on another page and will be presented by the Treasurer at the forthcoming Annual Meeting. It is hoped that by the fees proposed the necessity of reducing the size of our quarterly, ONTARIO HISTORY, will be avoided.

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## A SUGGESTION

The Ontario Historical Society can put to good use funds for general expenses, for publication purposes and for museum development.

You are urged to include the Society as a beneficiary when preparing your will. The following form is suggested:

I give, devise, and bequeath to the Ontario Historical Society, the sum of ....., which shall be held by the Society as an endowment, the income from said endowment to be used for such of the Society's purposes as its Executive Committee in its discretion may determine.

The President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society will be happy to discuss this matter with interested persons.

The Ontario Historical Society,  
206 Huron Street, Toronto 5.

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## RECOVERY OF H.M.S. TECUMSETH

Of the Upper Canada Naval Department, Succeeding His Majesty's  
Provincial Marine

At Penetanguishene, August 29, 1953.

By C. H. J. Snider

In October, 1911, the late H. C. Osborne of Penetanguishene, Ontario, historian of Huronia, pointed out to this writer the remains of three vessels of the War of 1812 sunken in that harbor. Having discovered the lost hull of H.M. schooner *Nancy* beneath a coverlet of waterlilies in the Nottawasaga River nearby, on the first Monday of the preceding August, the writer was much interested in the Penetang wrecks, and we made a thorough examination of them, rowing all around the harbor in doing so. I was then preparing "In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelves" (Toronto, 1913).

One hull showing a ring of frameheads on the edge of the marsh in Colborne or North West Basin on the west side of the harbor, Mr. Osborne said he had been told was that of H.M.S. *Confiance*, flagship of the Penetang squadron, formerly the U.S. gun schooner *Scorpion*. Her consort, H.M.S. *Surprise*, he said, formerly the U.S. schooner *Tigress*, used to be visible nearby, but was now completely submerged. Probing with a 16-foot pole that day showed a wreck sunken not far from that of the presumed *Scorpion*.

The two vessels mentioned were sister Americans, captured severally in boarding battles, on Sept. 3 and Sept. 6, 1814, by the surviving crew of the *Nancy*, led by Lieut. Miller Worsley, RN, her late commander. The pair had taken part in the destruction of the *Nancy*, which burned and sank with colors flying, in a fight which lasted all day, on August 14, 1814.<sup>1</sup> The escaping *Nancy* men attacked her destroyers in rowboats, among the islands of the Detour Passage. The captured Americans were bought by the Admiralty for £16,000, and taken into the King's service. Renamed *Confiance* and *Surprise* they were a nucleus for the Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes, based upon Penetang. (With reluctance we use the abbreviated name for the Place of the White Rolling Sands, while confessing its convenience for typewriting and highway signs). Twelve vessels, sail and steam, belonged to the extensive naval and military establishment so formed. It flourished up to 1850.

On this same day when we examined the wreck in Colborne Basin we also examined two on the opposite side of the harbor, a mile or more away, near Magazine Island, close inshore, where the powder for the

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(1) Cruikshank, "An Episode of the War of 1812", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. IX, and "The John Richardson Letters", Vol. VI of the same publications.

Establishment had been stored. These two Mr. Osborne identified as H.M.S. *Tecumseth* and H.M.S. *Newash*, built at Chippawa, Ont., towards the end of the war, and brought to Penetang to "go into ordinary" following the Rush-Bagot disarmament agreement of 1817. A large and carefully keyed drawing of the Establishment, dated 1818, preserved in the Public Library, Toronto, completely confirmed this latter identification.

In 1933, after Mr. Osborne's death, Penetang floated the wreck which we had seen in Colborne Basin across the harbor to the town dock and placed its picked bones in the town park. Since 1911 much of it had disappeared, being transformed into chairs, desks, gavels, walking canes, candlesticks, picture frames and other "souvenirs of the *Scorpion*." Having made a report for the Provincial Archives on the history, identity, and authenticity of the wreck of H.M.S. *Nancy*, which had been recovered and enshrined in 1927, the writer was asked by Mayor McIntaggart and the Chamber of Commerce of Penetang to authenticate this recovery from Colborne Basin in 1933. Reluctantly, he had to report that the wreck was 12 feet too short to be the hull of the *Scorpion*.

The *Tigress* and the *Scorpion* were laid down at Lee's Run, at the foot of Sassafras Street in Erie, Pa., 1812, to be of these dimensions;<sup>2</sup>

Length on keel, 50 ft.

Breadth, 17 ft.

Depth of hold, 5 ft.

Tonnage, 86 Tons by largest measurement, 50 smallest

Guns, one long 24-pounder.

The *Tigress* was finished and launched by April 15, 1813, but the *Scorpion* was more than two weeks later getting into the water, because she had to be lengthened by 12 feet before launching, so as to be faster and able to carry an additional 12-pounder gun. She was so armed when captured. The largest tonnage mentioned for her is 96 tons, the lowest 60. Both vessels were built in great haste, much easily worked soft wood, especially white cedar, being used in their construction, with comparatively few natural crooks for frames and knees. Wooden treenails were largely employed for fastenings, to reduce the amount of blacksmith's work and eke out the iron.

The wreck recovered from Colborne Basin measured 48 feet on the keel, and could have been of 17 feet beam and 5 feet depth of hold. Much cedar, pine and ash had been used in it, little oak and iron. Many

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(2) Letter of Capt. Daniel Dobbins, builder along with Noah Brown, to Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 12, 1812, quoted in Laura G. Sandford's *History of Erie County, Pennsylvania*. This gives length, breadth and depth. Tonnage is the maximum and minimum recorded, and armament is what was found aboard when the vessels were captured. Neither British nor American naval departments have been able to find plans or specifications for these vessels. American historians have confused the *Tigress* with a purchased merchantman, the schooner *Amelia*, ex-*General Wilkinson*, built in 1801 and found unfit for conversion when taken to Erie in 1812. She was sunk and three gun-schooners were built in her place.

of its curved timbers had been hurriedly sawn across the grain, instead of slowly worked from the natural bends of roots, trunks or branches. Treenails were plentiful. Two 24-pounder balls were found loose in the hold, and later a 3-lb ball was discovered under the ceiling, wedged near a crack in her keelson, as though it had entered through the deck or hatchway, and lodged itself unseen below. It could have been a missile from the small British brig *General Hunter* in the Battle of Lake Erie, unnoticed because it did not cause a leak. Many cords of loose planks, frames and timbers were carefully examined before the disappointing verdict that this could not be the *Scorpion* was rendered. Nothing discovered precluded the wreck being the smaller sister ship *Tigress*, which had become the British H.M.S. *Surprise*. It seemed probable that Mr. Osborne's mistake was only in the respective names of the sunken hulls, and that the other one near Colborne Basin would prove to be the desired *Scorpion*, upon which Penetang had so set its hopes.

In the spring of 1953 it was announced that Penetang and Simcoe County Council were going to recover the *Scorpion* this year as a tourist attraction. Wilfred W. Jury and students of the University of Western Ontario were working on a summer archaeological project of exploration of the former military and naval establishment of Penetanguishene, and the local Chamber of Commerce contributed to this in the expectation that the salvaging of the *Scorpion* would be the crowning achievement of the season.

Much was accomplished in the summer. Thirty building sites of the Establishment were plotted, although all that was left was one gaunt stone chimney, ruins of a few hearths, and one a building in cut brown sandstone, with bricked up rifleslits which had been intended for loopholes for musketry. This had been the officers' quarters, and was in a good state of preservation. It was cleaned and repaired and made project headquarters and a museum. Seventeen thousand tourist admissions in the short season it was operating attested its popularity. The ground surrounding was levelled and graded to form a pleasant park. To this what was left of the sorely gnawed *Tigress* was trundled, and mounted on the lawn before the Museum entrance. The Establishment wharf, slipways, shipyard, forge, sawpit and naval storehouse were located and in some instances cleared and reproduced. By personal diplomacy Mr. Jury secured the services of the Russell Construction Company's dredge, complete with crew, engineers and diver for a necessarily limited period. This generosity on the part of the company cost the company \$600 a day, the overhead on the plant. Everyone was very co-operative, but no one told Mr. Jury where the *Scorpion* was to be found. Mayor McIntaggart had died since the 1933 effort.

Mr. Jury fastened upon one of the two wrecks under Magazine Island, on the foreshore of the ancient naval establishment, and on August 29, 1953, proceeded to raise it. This was the last day on which the dredging

plant was available. The archaeologist was due to begin a search for the burial place of Champlain in Quebec on the 1st of September.

Operation *Scorpion* commenced at 7.30 a.m. on that glowing antepenultimate day of August. Surrounded by an armada of small craft armed with cameras, flashlights, microphones and equipment for speech-making and broadcasting, the dredge plunged its steel-toothed clamshell bucket into a buoyed area a hundred yards from the bank, where the water was 15 feet deep. A pause while the steel teeth crunched like fangs on a bone, and up rose the bucket, spewing jets of water, with a tapered black timber in its jaws. Motor horns among the growing gallery of automobiles and spectators lining the foreshore "sounded a peal of war-like glee" as the derrick arm swung and the opening bucket dropped the timber on the dredge's deck. Next was brought up a shorter mass of blackened oak, with a stout chain attached. This the "experts," pale augurs muttering low, pronounced a shank-painter, and none gainsaid their word—not even when murmuring, "Newash or Tecumseth," they diagnosed the next lot of oak and ironwork as the port forechains, waterways and channel. The pile of dripping wood and rusted iron grew on the dredge deck until both bows of the wreck had been demolished piecemeal, and the water was opaque with disturbed silt. Still the ship had not been budged.

Wishing to secure his object intact, Mr. Jury's plan had been to lift the hull by placing wire slings around it, dislodging it from its bed by pneumatic or hydraulic pressure. Equipment for this was not available. The diver could not drag the steel cables under the bedded keel. He could only work by touch in the blackened water, and reported "two wrecks, one lying across the other diagonally". What he took for the uppermost one could have been the higher side of the same vessel, broken off by decay or the sledgehammer blows of the derrick clam, and fallen diagonally across the body of the ship.

Word was passed that "another wreck" would have to be removed before the *Scorpion* would be secured, which was cryptically true. A steel cable was passed around the obstacle, and by noon a 30-foot mass of planking waterways, clamps and ceiling, with jagged toptimbers, stanchions, main-chains, deadeyes and scuppers protruding, hung suspended perpendicularly from the derrick arm. As it dripped and dried in the hot August sun the assembled flotilla hailed it with a prolonged fanfare of whistles, klaxons and auto horns. It was accepted as the first definite trophy of the long sought *Scorpion*. This was so thoroughly believed that Mr. George C. Johnston, member for Simcoe Centre, after a masterly review of the War of 1812, broadcast the statement that if the United States asked for the return of these vessels, the *Tigress* and the *Scorpion*, he for one would not object. In the Museum Park nearby the Stars and Stripes were flown from an ensign staff lashed to the sternpost of the

skeleton of H.M.S. *Surprise*, ex-U.S.S. *Tigress*, as though the United States had already taken possession of this piece of Admiralty property.

On shore (this broadcasting was done from the water) one elated American attempted to put a piece of the day's still dripping salvage into the trunk of his touring car. He was disappointed by the Penetang police, who tersely countered his argument "*We built her*" with "*We captured her.*" The waterlogged oak stayed in Penetang.

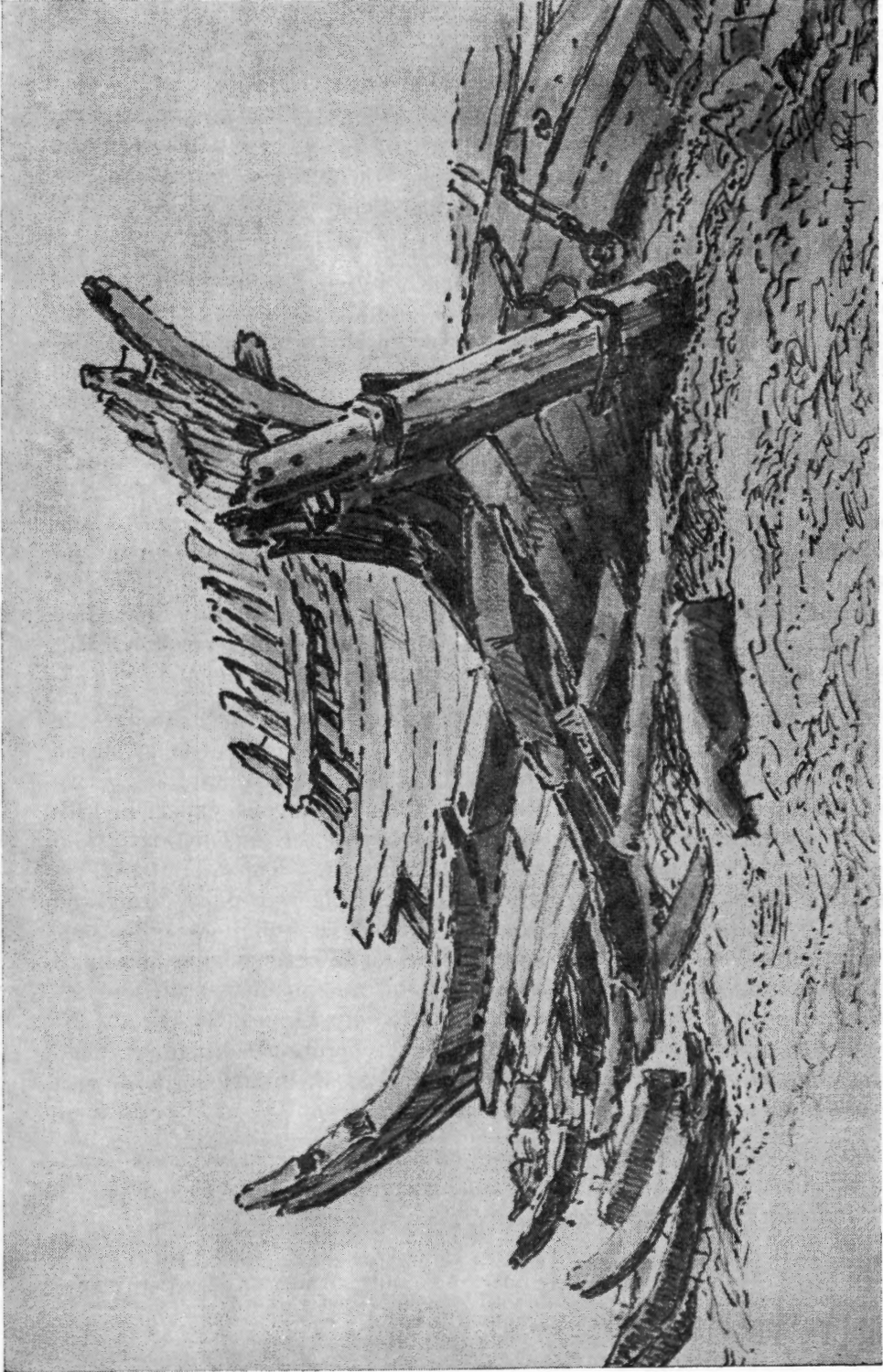
People began to go home, thinking of the 6 o'clock traffic jam. Mr. Jury, who had been dragged into the speaking in his overalls and red bandana, hastened back to his task after genially guarded remarks. He was bent on recovering what there was down there in one piece, at any rate in one large piece. With only a sandwich since sunrise he worked like a Trojan—and in the sunset the remains of the hull were raised intact to the surface, towed ashore, and hauled out by tractor, with birch logs for rollers, on to the beach near the wharf of the ancient Establishment. Everybody went home, and Mr. Jury went to Quebec. But not before he and his students and the zealous Penetang Chamber of Commerce, had completed the cleaning, examining, sorting and storing of all the salvage of the day. Twelve cannon balls found in the hull had the British broad-arrow stamped on them. They were hastily rushed to the Museum and banded with white paint and the name "*Scorpion.*" But that was not the name of the vessel from which they came.

The writer made four visits to Penetanguishene to examine the recovery. He was accompanied variously by W. M. Prentice, construction engineer, Lieut. Rowley W. Murphy, ARCA, OSA, war artist on active service in the RCN during hostilities, and John R. Stevens, expert in 18th and 19th century naval architecture, and author of the authoritative "*Old Time Ships, their Construction and Embellishment*", Toronto, 1949. Together and separately we measured, examined, photographed, drew and painted, both the recovered parts and the whole hull. Mr. Stevens' examination was the most thorough, for he made seven visits, measured every fragment, plotted all on a scaled plan, and made a scaled model from what he had found. He was followed by Lieut. Russell, R.C.N. Historian from the Naval Museum at Halifax, who observed photographed and measured independently, on Rear Admiral H. F. Pullen's orders, with the assistance of a qualified naval instructor.

All arrived at the same conclusion, namely, that the salvage recovered came from one ship, and that the hull corresponded in every detail to this Admiralty Draught,<sup>3</sup> inscribed:

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(3) Regd. No. 4562, Box 64, Curator, Admiralty, Whitehall. The writer was fortunate in securing photostats of this set of plans from Howard Irving Chapelle, naval architect, who uncovered the originals in London.



Remains of H.M. schooner Tecumseth, as recovered, August 29, 1953.

A study on the beach of the old Penetanguishene naval establishment ment by Rowley W. Murphy, A.R.C.A., O.S.A., war artist for the Royal Canadian Navy, in which he served during the late hostilities.

"Naval Yard, Street's Farm, Chippawa, 23d April 1815—A Draught of two Schooners, the Tecumseth and Newash, of the following Dimensions:

	Ft.	in.
"Length of the Range of the Deck	70	6
Keel for Tonnage	52	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Breadth Extreme	24	5
Moulded	24	
Burthen in Tons	166	19/94
	no.	prs.
To carry	2	—24 Guns
	2	—32 Carronades
"Tecumseth—Newash—Chippawa."		

All measurements we made of the recovery fitted the dimensions of the Draught of April 23, 1815, even to the thickness of planking and size of the detailed members of construction in the plan. Measurements of the actual timbers corresponded so nearly that Mr. Stevens' comment was that the shipwrights had followed the design more closely than he had seen in any other example. My suggestion is that from its date the Draught may have been made after the vessels had been completed, as was done in the case of the notable Canadian battleship H.M.S. *St. Lawrence*, of 112 guns. She was launched in September, 1814, and had really won the war on Lake Ontario before the year closed. Her Admiralty Draught, of which also I have a copy, is dated "Kingston Naval Yard, Point Frederick, U.C., America, May, 1815," after she had been in commission and on active service for eight or nine months.

The hull recovered on August 29, 1953, could not be the *Scorpion's*, from its dimensions. It had to be either the *Tecumseth's* or the *Newash's*. (There is no record of a "Chippewa" for the Upper Lakes in 1815, although that word appears on the Draught. Perhaps it is an unconscious variation of the spelling of the name of the place where the Draught was made.) It is on record however that the *Tecumseth* and *Newash* were in commission from 1815 onwards, and that the *Newash* was changed from schooner to brigantine rig in 1816, because of difficulties both vessels had encountered in handling their gaff foresails in squalls. Their foremasts, as shown in the Draught, were very far forward. To make the brigantine experiment the chains, channels and step of the *Newash's* foremast would have to be altered, probably moved aft 10 feet and extended. There is no evidence of such alteration in the recovered hull. The step of the foremast had disappeared, but where it had been was plainly indicated by remaining bolts and wedges, and the position, as well as the number and size of the channels, deadeyes and chainplates left in the hull, were all exactly as drawn in the Draught for the schooner rig. So in the absence of other evidence the recovery must be accepted as H.M.S. *Tecumseth*.

The schooner rig of these vessels, as shown by their inventory, was a formidable affair, requiring all hands to cope with it. There was, to begin with, a large fore-and-aft mainsail, spread by gaff and boom. Above this a square topsail and above that a square topgallantsail. On the foremast was a gaff foresail, loose-footed, and overlapping the mainsail. It had no boom, and it brailed to the mast for furling, although it could be lowered for reefing. Above it was another square topsail and topgallantsail, and from the fore-yard which extended the topsail hung a deep curtain-like squaresail, with a boom to thrust its tack out to windward, like a yacht's spinnaker. Ahead of these sails she had a large standing jib, to the bowsprit end, and a flying jib, to the end of the jibboom. There was also studdingsails, for the extension of the square sails on the fore topmast.<sup>4</sup> This was standard schooner rig in the Provincial Marine and Royal Navy on the Great Lakes. After 1816, on Commodore A. W. R. C. Owen's order, the square sails on the main topmast were abolished and a gafftopsail and maintopmast staysail were substituted. By 1818, however, a completely fore-and-aft rig had come into use. The drawing of Penetanguishene harbor in that year, mentioned earlier, shows the flagship, H.M.S. *Confiance*, ex-*Scorpion*, and H.M.S. *Bee*, a tender, both rigged like our surviving fore-and-aft fishing schooners.

The armament for the *Tecumseth* and *Newash* was as formidable as their large rigs, which were given to enable them to keep the weather gage and choose their fighting distance. Each had two 24-pounder guns, with a range of two miles, and two 32-pounder carronades, meant for smashing at ranges of up to one mile. The long guns were on circles, one on the starboard bow, the other abaft the port fore rigging. They had an arc of fire of 300 degrees. The carronades, on slides, and one on each quarter, completed the circle of fire and almost doubled it at close range. These short stocky pocket battleships were intended to retrieve the disaster of 1813 in Lake Erie, where the small British squadron was galled by the long range cannon of the American gun schooners until the batteries of Perry's fresh flagship *Niagara* gave it the *coup de grace*. The American gun schooners carried one or two large guns, which were fired not through ports which opened and closed, but over the low rail. There were no high protective bulwarks such as men-of-war called "quarters." Gun crews fought exposed to their ankles, both to cannon balls and musketry. The *Tecumseth* and *Newash* were designed on the same Spartan plan. No consideration was given to the crews' hazard, but their guns were such and so arranged that they required only half the number of men. These vessels could be rowed, and were provided with oar-ports for their sweeps.

Penetang went to bed dreaming that Wilfred Jury had given them the *Scorpion*, and woke to find he had left them something better—a

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(4) Public Archives of Canada, Series "C" 726.

compact streamlined pocket battleship, of British design and Ontario oak and building, the first of her kind in America and perhaps in the world. She was 138 years old, sound of keel and frame, and capable of complete restoration, or of preservation for another century as a memorial. A living memorial she was, though she had given up the ghost, a memorial of Brock's great compeer, the noblest red man of them all, faithful unto death at Moraviantown, when Henry Procter ran away. She was also a memorial of that triumph of civilization on this continent, the unfortified frontier from sea to sea between Canada and the United States. She had played an important part in bringing about the Rush-Bagot disarmament agreement, which demilitarized the Great Lakes as a matter of common sense and economic necessity. Her keel, no longer than the lengthened *Scorpion's*, had been laid under fire. Thanks to British ingenuity and Canadian carpentry, she was twice as large as the *Scorpion* in tonnage and twice as strong in construction. The *Scorpion* was foolishly headlined as "the deadliest ship on the lakes" in one newspaper, even on the day after she had not been raised. The ship that was raised had four times the gunpower of the *Scorpion*, on the same length of keel, and with the same number of crew. She could sink a pair of *Scorpions* with one broadside, for her guns, being on circles, fired in all directions, unlike the broadside guns of the time, which had only an arc of fire of 30 degrees. Happily that broadside was never fired, for Britain and America made peace on Christmas Eve, 1814, peace that has endured now one hundred and forty years, though bloody battles were fought on land and sea in 1815 before the news of peace was known.

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## OUR ANNUAL MEETING

Place: Ottawa at the Teachers' College

Time: June 10, 11, 12

June 10

9.30 a.m. Museums Committee Meets

2.00 p.m.—Opening Meeting of the Society

*Important:* Register as early as you can after 10 a.m. Thursday

The local committee has prepared a most interesting programme which has been sent to all members. Ottawa, well worth a visit at any-time, will be at its loveliest in early June. It is just possible that Parliament will still be in session at the time of our meeting.

## SOME FACTS ABOUT OTTAWA

(From the *Ottawa Story* by Harry J. Walker)

1826 Nicholas Sparks purchased from John Burrows Honey 200 acres of farm land in the heart of the present capital for £95.

Colonel John By arrived in September to commence digging his famous "ditch," the Rideau Canal. "The Rideau and Ottawa Canal District" soon became known as Bytown.

1832, May 24. The steamer "Rideau" was the first vessel to traverse the full length of the Rideau Canal.

1852 Hockey in Canada probably dates from this year when a "shinny" match was played between Bytown and New Edinburgh on the river ice on Christmas Day 1852.

1855 Bytown was incorporated as a city and the name changed to Ottawa.

1857 Queen Victoria selected Ottawa as the capital of Canada.

The above are only a few of the interesting items from Mr. Walker's *The Ottawa Story*.

## FROM BETHLEHEM TO FAIRFIELD — 1798

Edited by Leslie R. Gray

### Part II

Note: No part of this article is to be reproduced in any way without the express permission of the Archives Committee of the Moravian Church in America, Northern Provinces.

May 13th (continued)

The day we entered Canada was Sunday. In the course of the morning we met a gentleman draped in black on horseback, whom we afterwards heard was a clergyman, and that he was going to preach in a neighboring church. This was something quite new to us, as we had not seen, or been able to hear of any church or meeting place, all the way we had travelled, since we left Nazareth and Schöneck. The people we had been among, were chiefly from New England. Many were from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the eastern parts of New York. It is not true therefore, what has been asserted in print, that the New Englanders, when they form a new settlement, generally take a minister along with them. A settlement by government and a settlement by stragglers and emmigrants from the state are different institutions. We have seen many of their settlements while on this journey, and in none of them have they a minister. Hence has arisen the common saying, that "the New Englanders, when they leave their country, leave their religion behind them." In most places however they have schools. This proves that they are more concerned for the temporal, than for the eternal welfare of their children. The one they ought to do, and not to leave the other undone. The above is, thank God, not a picture of the general state of religion in America. In many, and perhaps most of the old settlements, the case is very different. One of our brethren a few years since made a circuit of about 200 miles, through the counties of Northampton, Berkshire, Dauphin and Lancaster in Pennsylvania, which are inhabited chiefly by Germans, and had the pleasure to count nearly 40 edifices, erected by the free subscriptions of the people, and dedicated to devine worship. And to the credit of that nation, the settlement we were now travelling through, was composed almost entirely of Germans.

In the evening we passed the fort at Chippewa, the commander of which was very civil to us. We were nowhere asked for a pass, had any duties to pay, or were officially interrogated. At Mr. Bender's,<sup>96</sup> which is the nearest house to Niagara falls, we were courteously received. Hereabouts the people are almost entirely from the Jersies. They have built

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(96) Bender's home was on the site of the present Canadian factory of Community Plate, just above the General Brock Hotel, with a full view of the Falls.

a small church not far from the Falls, which is free for ministers of all denominations.<sup>97</sup>

May 14th and 15th

During the two next days, we were chiefly employed in contemplating the falls of Niagara, which are universally allowed to be one of the most astonishing curiosities of nature, which America, or any other part of the world affords. They are formed by a general descent of the country between lake Erie and lake Ontario of about 300 feet, the slope of which is generally very steep, and in many places almost perpendicular. This general descent of the country is observable for about 100 miles to the E. and above 200 miles to the W. or rather N.W. of the Falls. The slope is formed by horizontal strata of stone, great part of which is lime-stone. At fort Erie, which is 20 miles above the cataract, the current is sometimes so strong, that it is impossible to cross the river in a ferry boat. Proceeding downwards, the rapidity of the stream increases. It may however generally be crossed by hard rowing in a boat opposite to the mouth of Chippewa creek. As we rode along the St. Laurence, we heard the sound of the Falls at the distance of 10 miles. The wind was N.E., and the air clear; had it been N.W., or the atmosphere dense, we should have heard it at a much greater distance. In heavy weather, and with a fair wind, the sound is sometimes heard 40 or 50 miles. The rapids, or first falls, begin about half a mile above the great cataract. In one instance has a man been saved, who had been carried down to them. His canoe was overturned, he retained fast hold of it; and it very providentially fastened itself to the uppermost rock. Some people on shore seeing this, ventured to his assistance, and saved his life at the risk of their own. As we approached the Falls the first time, the sun was low in the W., which gave us an opportunity of viewing the beautiful rainbow which is occasioned by the reflection of his rays on the cloud or fog which is perpetually ascending from below. We found afterwards that the whole phenomenon is never viewed so much to advantage on the Canada side, as in a clear evening. The vast fog, ascending from the grand cataract, being in constant agitation, appears like the steam of an immense, boiling cauldron. In summer it moistens the neighboring meadows, and in winter, falling upon the trees, it congeals, and produces a most beautiful crystalline appearance. The view of this fog at a distance, which when the cause of it is known is in itself a singular phenomenon fills the mind with awful expectation of something pleasing and great, which on a nearer approach, can never end in disappointment. The first sight of the Falls arrests the senses in silent admiration! Their various hues, arising from the depth, descent and agitation of the water, and the re-

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(97) This log church was built in 1795 on Lundy's Lane, west of the Portage Road, within the area of the present Drummond Hill Cemetery. It was damaged during the Battle of Lundy's Lane and replaced in 1821. Drummond Hill Presbyterian Church later succeeded this second church. (Ernest Green, "Township No. 2" On-

flection of the sun beams on them; their great height their position between lofty rocks; and their roaring noise; altogether render them an unparalleled display of nature's grandeur. But what chiefly distinguishes them, and gives them a majesty incomparably superior to anything of the kind in the known world, is the immense body of water which they precipitate into an immense abyss. The St. Laurence is one of the greatest rivers of America, it is very deep and about 742 yards wide at the Falls. The perpendicular descent there is about 140 feet, down to the level of the water below. How far the water rushes down into the chasm below, is uncertain. It falls 58 feet within the last half mile immediately above the Falls, which adds to the force and velocity of the cataract. The sound occasioned by the great and precipitate fall of such a vast body of water has the most grand effect that can be conceived. It far exceeds in solemnity any other sound produced by the operations of nature. It is only at Niagara Falls, that the force of that figure made use of in the book of Revelations, can be fully felt: "I heard a voice as the voice of many waters." And what did that voice say? It proclaimed aloud: "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" This is the language that has been thundered for ages from the Falls of Niagara!

Every hour of the day, and every change of the weather varies the scenery at this romantic—this magnificent exhibition of wonders, compared with which every attempt of art to produce the sublime, sinks into nothingness. The first day that we spent there, the weather was clear; the next day, it became cloudy and rained a little. As we were desirous to enjoy the prospect before us from every possible point of view, we went down the high bank below the cataract, into the immense chasm below, and thence walked, or rather climbed along the rocks, so near to the cataract, till it appeared ready to overwhelm us. The descent, though steep, is not dangerous. General Simcoe, the late governor of the province, caused a ladder to be fixed in the most perpendicular part of it, which is so safe; that his lady ventured to go down it.<sup>98</sup> Below, the air is in some places strongly tainted with the smell of dead fish, which lie in great numbers on the beach. Every creature that swims down the rapids is instantly hurried to destruction. We saw a loon a little above them, who was unknowingly approaching swift ruin. Even birds who fly above them, are frequently impelled downwards by the strong current of the air, as their shattered fragments among the rocks bear witness.

When the river is low, it is easy to walk up to the foot of the Falls, but when high, one has to climb over rocks, and piles of large loose stones for near half a mile. This last was the case when we were there. In many places the impending masses of stone appeared ready to fall on us.

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(98) This was beside the "Indian ladder" made by cutting the branches of a tall cedar close to the trunk to act as steps and hand-holds. The tree was then propped against the face of the cliff. (John Ross Robertson: *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe*, Toronto, Ontario Publishing Co. 1934, p. 285).

It is known that the Falls are divided into the great and lesser Falls, by means of a lofty island between them. At the place of descent we were nearly opposite to the lesser Falls, which rush down in a direction nearly parallel with the beach we walked along: They are again divided into two very unequal Falls, the least of which probably discharges more water than the great fall of the Rhine in Switzerland, which is accounted the most famous waterfall in Europe. Before these lesser Falls, among the rocks, lay huge masses of ice.

We now approached the great Fall, which discharges at least four times as much water, as the two lesser ones together. It is nearly in the form of a horse-shoe. We observed below, what is imperceptible above, that this fall has not throughout the same pitch. In the hollow of it, where the greatest body of water descends, the rocks seem to be considerably worn away. We cannot however subscribe to the opinion, that the cataract was formerly at the northern side of the slope near the landing," and that from the great length of time, the quantity of water, and the distance which it falls, the solid stone is worn away for about 9 miles up towards lake Erie. This notion seems extravagant. The island which separates the Falls is a solid rock, and so high, that the river can never have run over it. Its bank towards the Falls runs in the same direction with them, and at the same time does not project beyond them, which would surely be the case, if the whole body of rocks from which the water descends, was fast wearing away. The situation and appearance of the Falls is exactly the same as described and delineated by French artists 160 years ago. Besides, according to the laws of motion, the principal pressure of the water here, must be in the direction in which it moves, and consequently not against the rocks it merely flows over, and where it meets with no opposition; for the stronger the current the less is the pressure downwards. There is therefore less probability of the bottom wearing away here, than in any other river of equal depth, where there are no such Falls. If the solid stone at the Falls was wearing away at the rate of a mile in a thousand or more years, it might be expected that the Rapids would in length of time become smooth, or vary their appearance, which has not been observed to be the case. That the perpendicular descent of such a vast body of water has produced a vast chasm below, is more than probable; and that where the greatest quantity of it falls, the surface of the rocks may in great length of time have become more hollow, is very credible. But it appears very difficult for us to conceive that in any known period, however long, an immense bed of rocks should have been so completely worn away for nine miles that no vestige should be left of them; and the Falls exhibit at length their present appearance. An old Indian told us, that many years since a grey-headed Chippewa had said to him: "the white people believe that the Falls were once down

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(99) The Landing, later known as Queenston.

at the landing. It is not true. They were always where they are now. So we have heard from our forefathers." We are led therefore to conclude, that the Niagara falls received their present singular position at the command of Omnipotence at the creation, that the children of men should admire, wonder, and sink in silent adoration!

It is generally supposed it has frequently appeared in print, that it is possible to go behind the descending column of water at the Falls and remain there in perfect safety. Conversation, it has been said, may be held there without interruption from the noise, which is less here than at a considerable distance. People who live near the spot, have daily to contradict these fables. They have themselves been repeatedly as far as possible under the Falls, and are in the habit of conducting strangers. Their information is therefore to be relied on. Under so called Table rock, from a part of which the water descends, there is, 'tis true, space sufficient to contain a great number of people in perfect safety. But how shall they get there? Were they to attempt to enter the cavity behind the Fall, the very current of the air, say the guides, were the stream of water not to touch them, would deprive them of life. The truth is, it is possible to go under, that is, below the Falls, as we did, but not to go behind them.<sup>100</sup>

The motion of the water below the cataract, is, as may easily be supposed, extremely wild and irregular; and it remains so for several miles below the landing. As far as the fog extends, it is impossible to judge of the state of the atmosphere with respect to heat or cold. In summer it cools it, and in winter renders it milder. Below, on the beach there are no petrifications, and nothing worth notice, but a soft white stone, which when reduced to powder, is taken inwardly as an emetic. The surrounding country on the Canada side is very delightful, affording charming situations for pleasure grounds, from whence the Falls might be viewed to advantage. On this account the land here will probably once sell for a very high price. It is at present valued at £10 an acre. The banks round the Falls are lined with white pines and cedars.

We have been the more particular in our account of the Falls of Niagara, as they are well worthy the attention of travellers, and few of our brethren ever have had, or probably ever will have, an opportunity of viewing them. Many of the printed descriptions are erroneous.

The 15th in the evening Mr. Schaefer came to us at our lodging, according to appointment, and we prepared to proceed on our course the next morning. Much of the country we had passed through was never travelled by any brother before us, which with the progressive state of improvement, and future importance of the present state of things in the so called new countries considered as well in a religious as civil view, has led us to be more particular than we other wise should have been in the description of them. We were now going to pursue a route

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(100) Today a modern tunnel makes it possible to go behind the falls and look out through the curtain of water.

which a few years since was trodden by none but savages, and which according to all the maps that have as yet been published, would appear to be leading through land unknown or uninhabited.

May 16th

May 16th we took leave of our worthy host Mr. Bender, and entered a road thirty three feet wide, which led us, in a N.W. course, through a country full of farms and cottages. There was not a field to be seen, but was full of the stumps of trees, which showed that the land had been but newly settled. Almost all of the people we spoke to today were from Sussex county in New Jersey. As we had to cross from the road we were in, in order to enter the great Newark or New Niagara road leading to York and Detroit, we had often occasion to enquire for the way; but the eagerness of the people for news sometimes made it difficult to obtain the desired information as readily as we could have wished. (Footnote added by Mortimer at a later date: This may be accounted for from the general expectation then prevailing, that war would soon break out between the United States and France.) Thirteen miles from the Falls, we descended the Niagara Hill to Hamilton's mills, and 5 miles from thence arrived by bye-paths at Renchey's tavern on the main road.

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Note: This part of the journey was the most difficult for us to follow. It is well known that Robert Hamilton owned, very early, mills at Queenston. Here they would descend the hill, it is true, but the distance was five miles, not thirteen. As Mortimer and other early travellers were good judges of distance we realized that Queenston did not fit the pattern, so tried other possible routes until all the pieces matched.

This same Robert Hamilton, we found, had taken over in 1786 the partially constructed mills of Duncan Murray on Twelve Mile Creek, Lot 23, Concession 10 of Grantham Township, near the present village of Power Glen. He completed the mills in 1787 and operated them until 1800.

From this information we were able to identify the missionaries' trail from Bender's along a bit of the Portage Road, then by Lundy's Lane and the Beaver Dams Road to Beaver Dams, De Cew Falls and down the steep hill to Hamilton's Mills.<sup>101</sup> At that time a plentiful stream of water flowed over the precipice near the present De Cew development. Later this stream was diverted for the second Welland Canal but when the third canal was built the stream was again supplied with water, in greater volume than before, and the power project was made possible.

The water below the falls may have been too turbulent for early mill operations, as it appears that the mill and dam were built on the creek above the point where the water from the falls entered. Here a steady, quiet flow operated a series of mills for a good part of the 19th

(101) Later at the Ontario Archives we found Map B 9 of the 1812 period which shows part of this road and calls it "Hamilton & Niagara Indian Trail".

century. In 1800 Hamilton sold the mill property to Jesse Thomas, whose son Peter enlarged and improved the mills, as indicated by the corner stone removed from the ruins of the grist mill, which bears the inscription "Peter Thomas, 1811." Thomas operated the mills until 1828 when he sold them to Samuel Beckett. By this time a workshop had been added, where wagons and buggies were built. A blacksmith shop was an important feature of the operations. Various families were involved before the sale in 1854 from William D. King to Benjamin F. Reynolds, whose name was preserved for many years in the name of the village *Reynoldsville*, now known as Power Glen since the hydro development.<sup>102</sup>

Renchey's Tavern was even more difficult to locate. The French name Rancier intrigued us. Could this have been pronounced "Renchey"? However, George Rancier's two properties were either not at the right distance or were not on a known highway. Years later, Cyrus Runchey's tavern was on the Pelham Road fairly close to Hamilton's mills, but we felt that this was not the *main road* of Mortimer's journey. We studied all likely trails.

There was a road, in 1815 or earlier, which followed the western heights above Twelve Mile Creek to Shipman's (St. Catharines) where it joined the Queenston-Burlington Road, but it is evident that Mortimer and Heckewelder took a shorter route—"bye-paths"—along high ground. Searching for their probable trail we followed the present Pelham Road, where they must have forded the picturesque stream at Rockway, to avoid the deep chasm of Fifteen Mile Creek. We then descended a gradual winding slope between the Sixteen and Twenty Mile Creeks. Near the summit we could clearly see, like a mirage, Toronto's skyline forty miles away across Lake Ontario. This trail brought us out on No. 8 highway directly at Robert Runchey's property, lot 15 in the 4th and 5th concessions of Louth Township about a mile east of *The Twenty* (now Jordan). The distance proved to be slightly over six miles but still reasonably close to Mortimer's estimate.

Here we found what may be Runchey's original tavern—at least local authorities told us that it had been an inn and coach-stop as early as the War of 1812 when its cellar was a prison for American troops captured after the battle of Stoney Creek. Runchey's deed was not issued until 1802 but our clues place him here four years earlier. The shingle-sided building, used as a tenant house for casual help on the fruit farm of George Nelles of Grimsby, gives little evidence of its age until the interior is examined. Here we find the split-board lath construction, partly squared and partly hand-hewn beams, rafters numbered in Roman numerals, a centre fireplace of very early construction, steep stairs and other evidences of age. On the other hand we saw few wide boards and

(102) The abstracts of this property, many relics, pictures and account books of the Reynolds venture are in the possession of Clifford Hooper of Power Glen.

no early hardware. The many alterations and repairs to the house might account for their absence.

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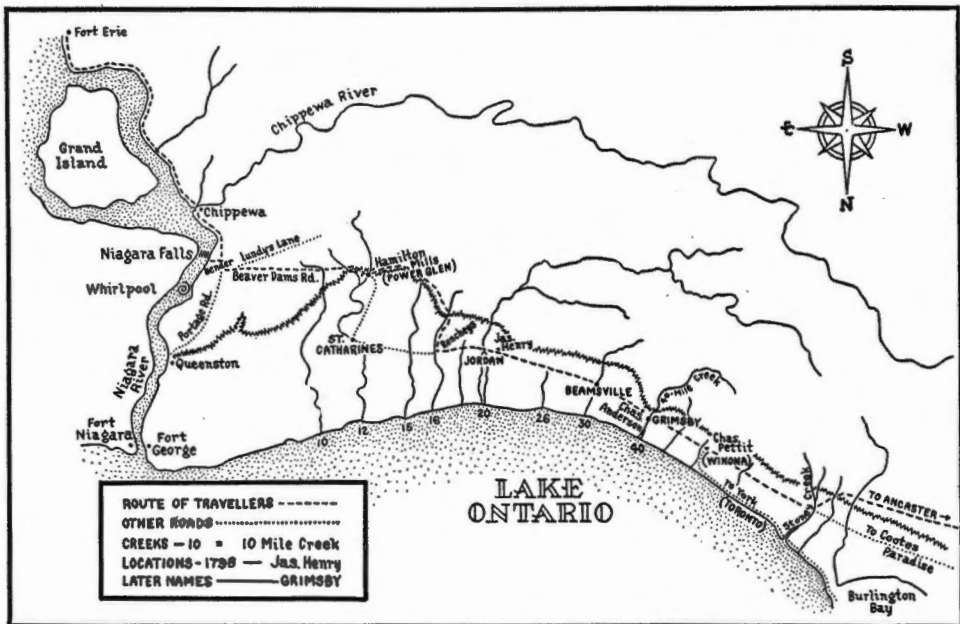
THE DIARY CONTINUES: We had now an open highway before us, mostly over lands of excellent quality. The country bordering on Lake Ontario (near which we were) is esteemed on the whole superior to that around Lake Erie. At the house of a Mr. James Henry, we stopped to bait our horses.

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Note: The Henry property was as easy to locate as the others were difficult. About two miles west of Jordan, on a ledge of level land set into the hillside overlooking the highway, sits what we believed to be the Henry homestead. "Do you know anything about the Henrys?" we asked a group in the barnyard. "No, they don't live here," the adults replied, but as we turned away a childish voice called out "they're all dead—they're in the cemetery." So with the young lad as a guide we plodded through a cornfield, over a fence into heavy woodlands where we found the long-forgotten Henry graveyard overgrown with weeds and poison ivy. Here lies Captain James Henry (1757-1827) an old Ranger whose ears had, reputedly, been cut off by Indians. With him are his Loyalist wife, Mary Catharine House, (1769-1843) and children James R., John B. and their families.

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THE DIARY RESUMES: It may not be amiss to mention for once the general drift of the questions put by tavernkeepers to travellers and to travellers by each other, both in Canada and the States, according to our experience and observation. A traveller after asking for refreshment for himself & his horse, naturally makes enquiry about the state of the roads, the turns to the right and to the left, the marks by which he may discern the course he has to pursue, and the best houses of entertainment to call at. Questions of this kind are very obligingly answered. You are then perhaps asked about the news; or your host tells you how long he has occupied his farm, what kind of soil it is, or what land sells for in that neighborhood. All this is very suitable conversation for a public house. But your new friend generally proceeds some steps further; he wishes to become more intimately acquainted with you. If your saddle bags are bulky, you are supposed to be a speculator in lands. You are asked where you come from and where you are going to. Are you communicative on these heads, your name, business and condition of life are then asked after. It is not supposed that there is any impertinence in all this; it is the custom of the country. The tavernkeeper, from the time you enter under his roof, seems to consider you as belonging to his family. But you must understand him aright; he is curious to hear your story, only that he may be able to tell it again, while at the same time



his curiosity has so much of the semblance of true friendship, and he is really so well disposed toward you, that he will not be displeased, if you take it upon yourself to be as inquisitive as he has been, and enter very minutely into the circumstances of himself and family. This, by the bye, is not a bad mode of defence, if his questions come too close upon you. The best general rule is, like Dr. Franklin,<sup>103</sup> to tell a plain, open story to every enquirer. So we have done, and have in consequence been blessed with the good wishes of the whole country and have passed through, confirmed by many a hearty shake of our hands.

In the course of this day we passed by one of the heads of lake Ontario,<sup>104</sup> near which we saw a rattlesnake lying dead in the road. Br. Heckewelder pronounced it to be the largest he had ever beheld. It was 4 feet 8 inches long, & had 10 rattles. In Canada the rattlesnakes are less numerous, but of a different and far more poisonous species than they are to the southward. Their bite is said to occasion a very speedy death, if recourse is not had to the proper remedies.

We put up tonight at the house of Mr. Charles Anderson,<sup>105</sup> on the 40 mile creek, so called because about 40 miles distant from Newark,

(103) Benjamin Franklin.

(104) Their path in several places would be within sight of Lake Ontario. Shortly before reaching "The Forty" (Grimsby) they would be on elevated land with a good view of the lake.

(105) Charles Anderson's property was lot 8, concession 1, Grimsby Tp. today on the main street of Grimsby. Anderson, who came from Antrim County, Ireland, described his house in 1795 as a two-storey frame and stated that he had cleared fifty acres of land. (R. Janet Powell, ed. *Annals of the Forty*, Grimsby Historical Society, No. 1, 1950).

the present seat of government. He has a distillery, good plantation, and accomodations for travellers, equal to what is to be met with in any tavern on the road between Bethlehem and Philadelphia.

In Canada a well improved plantation bespeaks, not only an industrious, but a hard-working owner. Money will effect but little, as it is difficult for any consideration to hire laborers, in a country where every one may have land for himself, by only asking for it. The whole expense of surveying, obtaining a deed etc. is only 9 shillings per acre. The policy of the British government is principally directed to the obtaining settlers. By this means the government is strengthened, and a more extensive vent is obtained for their home manufactures. Should the Canadians ever throw off their allegiance to the mother country (which is very improbable) the commercial connexion, which is what chiefly renders the province valuable to her, would not be diminished, as appears in the case of the United States. How admirable are the ways of God in the government of the world! It is his command to mankind, given above 4000 years ago: "Increase, multiply & replenish the earth." He has purposed that his ordinances should be brought into fulfillment in America as well as in other quarters of the globe. Men therefore in their national & individual capacities are instrumental in furthering his views. They are allured thereto by the prospect of outward advantages, while every exterior cause combines to produce the effects designed by infinite wisdom. So also will it be before the knowledge of the glory of the Lord will cover the earth. Events not to be controlled, least expected, and best calculated to answer the purpose shall tend to the propagation of the gospel. The command "go & teach all nations" is not of 2000 years standing, yet much has been effected. As the time when the gospel is to be universally made known approaches, every obstacle will recede, vanish or be overcome, and both friends and enemies to the cause will lend their aid, to "prepare the ways of the Lord, & make his paths straight before him."

This was one of the pleasantest days rides we had on our whole journey. The weather was delightful, the road good,<sup>106</sup> and the prospects pleasingly varied between hill and dale. We began now to count the days when we might expect to be with our brethren and sisters in Fairfield. Our joy was heightened by the surprize at finding ourselves in so beautiful a country, so far to the Northward. We were also in a fertile country, which is a point of some importance to the traveller; for, in addition to the gratification it affords, to see nature all around blooming and vigorous, we had observed that where the land was good the entertainment to be had was in every respect so much the better for it.

(106) Mortimer's opinion of the road is in direct contrast to that expressed by Mrs. Simcoe in her diary, June 10, 1796: "The Governor thinks the country will derive great benefit by opening a road on the top of the mountain (where it is quite dry) from Niagara to the 'Head of the Lake,' instead of going a most terrible road below, full of swamps, fallen trees etc."

## May 17th

The 17th we breakfasted at Pettit's,<sup>107</sup> 5 miles from Anderson's. Though the country continued to be full of farms, yet we saw no towns. There are no Capt. Williamsons here, to lay them out and build them. When however a tract of land is thickly settled, there is no doubt but towns will arise in consequence. Near this place, the principal road turns off to the N.<sup>108</sup> to the new city of York, formerly called Torondo [Toronto] which is designed to be the capital of Upper Canada. It lies on lake Ontario. From the top of Niagara Hill, which we ascended again today,<sup>109</sup> we had a very extensive view of the great western head of the Lake, and a vast range of country to the N. and E. On the W. this hill quite encompasses the Lake. We passed over much new land, where all the timber was in flames, or burnt to ashes. This is very troublesome to travellers. They have to suffer from the smoke & heat; the hot ashes may scorch the feet of their horses, and make them start; and above all, burning trees or branches may fall upon them. In one place, a large limb of a tree that was yet standing dropped down very near to us.

Twenty miles from Pettit's, we came to a house and mill belonging to a Mr. St. John.<sup>110</sup> He was not at home. We would fain have bought some grain for our horses, but it was absolutely denied to us by his morose wife, who said she had it, could spare it, but would not part with any. Wherever we have been, we have been treated civilly, until we came to this place. Mr. St. John used formerly to keep tavern, but the unhappy disposition of his wife obliged him to give it up.<sup>111</sup> She has sometimes positively refused to let travellers have any thing to eat, upon any consideration whatever. This woman deserves to be most sincerely pitied

(107) John, Andrew and Nathaniel Pettit were near Anderson's at the Forty but the travellers stopped at Charles Pettit's five miles farther along the road, at present Winona in Saltfleet Township. His home was probably recommended to Heckewelder as a stopping place when the day's journey was outlined by Anderson.

(108) Lt. W. A. Nesfield's 1815 "Map of the Niagara District in Upper Canada" (Canadian Archives) shows a road turning due north at Pettit's to meet the lakeshore road to Burlington and York.

(109) Crossing what was later the Stoney Creek battlefield, they ascended the heights near the cut where highway 20 today simplifies the climb. Mrs. Simcoe locates the route for us (in reverse) as she tells of her mountain top journey from The Forty to Stoney Creek, June 10, 1796: "-- at last we found a way, tho' a very steep one, to descend the mountain. A mile before we came to this descent we passed Stoney Creek - - -" A road cutting west from highway 20, part way up the hill, speedily reaches the top in a difficult climb. This may follow the earlier trail, as it qualifies for distance. From this road and from the summit, the travellers would see Lake Ontario as they here describe it.

(110) Mr. St. John was the popular name for John Baptiste Rousseau of Ancaster, Indian interpreter, trader, miller, tavernkeeper. In 1774, as a boy, he was with the army at Quebec but gradually moved westward—Cataraqui (Kingston), the Humber near Toronto) and finally Ancaster.

(111) Rousseau's second wife, here mentioned, was Margaret Kleine, a ward and servant of Joseph Brant since her family had been killed in the Mohawk Valley in 1760. She was married to Rousseau in 1787 and for some unknown reason the ceremony was twice repeated at later dates. A happier picture of her was presented by T. Roy Woodhouse at the O.H.S. annual meeting in 1951. Their son, George Rousseau, built a stone inn still standing in Ancaster, west of his father's mill and almost across from his parental home. (Data from T. R. Woodhouse, Hamilton, and Niagara Historical Society Publications No. 5 p. 8.)

and prayed for, by all who pass by her house, as her ill temper undoubtedly causes her much more uneasiness than it can do to them, how much soever they may suffer by it. Her countenance, by nature agreeable, exhibits at present a shocking picture of a mind tortured with malicious ill-nature, and all the base passions. The sun was still pretty high and we rode on 12 miles farther, to the house of a poor but honest New Englander of the name of Dexter,<sup>112</sup> who willingly accomodated us in the best manner he could. He gave us a supper of bacon and eggs, and a corner of his cottage to lie down in.

Fourteen miles of our road today were over swamps. The weather had long been remarkably dry, or we would have found it difficult to pass them so speedily and successfully as we did, without any accident. The bridges were also very troublesome to us, as many of them were ill-constructed, or out of repair. Bridges over swampy places should always be covered with earth, which would make them last the longer, and be the more safe for travellers. Those over creeks should at least be well braced together at the sides, to prevent the round, and sometimes crooked stems of trees, which form their surface, from rolling asunder. When broken or decayed, they should be repaired without delay. We have crossed thousands of bridges in the course of this journey, many of which, though intended for the accomodation of passengers, we found more dangerous than swamps in which the horses sunk up to their bellies.

The farther we penetrated into the country, the dearer we found every article we had occasion for. In some places we had to pay C5 a quart for oats, and C8 for Indian corn.<sup>113</sup> We could not complain of this. Settlers in a new country must take the high prices for every article they have to dispose of, as they themselves must purchase most of the necessities of life at very high rates, and fetch them from great distances.

#### May 18th

The 18th early we arrived at the Mohawk village, or castle, commonly called Brandt's town,<sup>114</sup> from Colonel Brandt, [Brant] the principal person in the settlement. It lies on the Grand river, which flows into Lake Erie. When the six nations were subdued by the Americans, in their revolutionary war, and their towns on the Mohawk river were burnt, the British, on account of their attachment to them, made them a grant of the territory, on both sides of the Grand River, for 6 miles inland. Thither most of them retreated, and have ever since remained, in alliance with, and under the protection of the British government. They are in no respect

(112) No Dexters have been identified at this location. This may be Thomas Dexter who by 1802 settled near Beachville on lot 6, con. 1, West Oxford Tp.

(113) The price symbol may represent cents, although placed before the figures. This price does not appear excessive so possibly it means pence. Dollars and cents were little used in Upper Canada at that time.

(114) Joseph Brant's town, within a great bend of the Grand River, just beyond the limits of the present city of Brantford, disappeared as the Indians moved southward to their present reservation. The venerable chapel and cemetery, (where Brant is buried) are reminders of the 1798 village of seven hundred Indians.

subject to their laws, as the following anecdote will sufficiently testify. Two years ago a white man was murdered by Colonel Brandt's son,<sup>115</sup> merely because he had not made him a saddle in the promised time. The young Indian found him at a frolic, and after exchanging some words with him on the subject, dispatched him with his tomahawk. The affair happened on the Indian territory, and the culprit remained unpunished by any human tribunal. But divine justice did not permit him to escape. Shortly after, he raised up his polluted hand against his father, with an intention to murder him also; but the experienced warrior adroitly warded off the blow & gave him such a cut in the head with his long knife that he instantly dropped at his feet. He died in two days after.<sup>116</sup>

Col. Joseph Brandt, [Brant] whose name has frequently occurred in the public papers, and in the diaries of our Indian congregation, is one of those extraordinary characters, who by dint of superior genius know how to avail themselves of circumstances so as to raise themselves into eminence among an uncivilized or unwary people. He had the advantage of a liberal education in Dartmouth college,<sup>117</sup> and of the patronage of Sir Willm Johnson,<sup>118</sup> through whom he was made a captain in the British service. Though no chief among his nation, and incapable of becoming one, on account of the meanness of his descent, yet he possesses a vast ascendancy in it. He is their efficient chief, both in council and in the field. Nothing of moment is resolved or undertaken among all the six nations in Canada contrary to, or without, his consent. His authority is supreme, and they all pay him uncommon respect. He sells land to the white people, or permits them to settle on it, at his discretion, and on the terms which he is pleased to prescribe; and all the settlers are in a kind of vassalage to him. None of them may sell spirituous liquors, either to the Indians or white people. He has lately forbid it, on account of the disorders which it has occasioned; and no one dares to transgress his mandate. In his own house, he is said to keep every kind of wine and spirits which is to be procured for money, which he makes a free use of; but when he invites other Indians to his table, he knows well how to keep within the bounds of temperance. He is styled general of the Indian army, and on muster days the white people living on his territory must also arrange themselves under his banners, When in England, some years

(115) Isaac Brant murdered Lowell, a saddle-maker.

(116) Death was actually from infection through neglect of a comparatively slight wound.

(117) Although we questioned Mortimer's statement we found that it was essentially true. Brant, in 1761, was sent by Sir William Johnson to Moor's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut, where he studied for two years under the guidance of Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, the founder of Dartmouth. In 1769, after funds were raised in Great Britain for its development, Moor's School was moved to Hanover, New Hampshire, enlarged and incorporated as Dartmouth College, after the Earl of Dartmouth, the president of trustees of the British Fund.

(118) Sir William Johnson, 1715-1774, for many years the British government's chief superintendent of the Indians, whom he controlled from his residence, Fort Johnson, in the valley of the Mohawk. Molly Brant, sister of Joseph, was his wife by Indian rites.

since, and presented to his Britannic Majesty at court, he refused to kiss his hand, alledging that he also was a king in his own country. But he had no objection to pay that mark of high respect to the Queen.

The Mohawk village we passed through is large, irregularly built & scattered. The houses, like all Indian dwellings, are small, having only one room, of a square form. Colonel Brandt has a handsome two story house, built after the manner of the white people. Compared with the other houses, it may be called a palace. Near it stands the great council-house of the nation, which is not quite finished. A church, with a handsome steeple, has lately been erected here by order of the British government.<sup>119</sup> Here the service of the English church is read every Sunday, by an Indian, in the Mohawk language, and an English sermon, interpreted into Mohawk, is preached twice a year, by a minister from Newark, who afterwards administers the sacraments. The Indian church is well attended, both by the Indians and white people, and the greatest order is preserved. The book of common prayer of the English church, the gospel according to St. Mark, and other well-selected portions of scripture have lately been printed in London, in the Mohawk and English languages, under the direction of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and at the expense of the British government, expressly for the use of these people. St. Mark's gospel was translated by Colonel Brandt. The whole is bound together in one volume, which is embellished with copper-plate, representing the principal scenes of our Saviour's life. Colonel Brandt some time since, on his way through Fairfield, presented Br. Senseman with a copy of this performance.<sup>120</sup>

We stopped in the village to purchase Indian corn for our horses, which afforded an opportunity to enquire who we were, and where we were going to. When going away, Colonel Brandt ran after us, and gave Br. Mortimer a letter to Mr. Allen of the Delaware Township. He is very polite, has a dignified and pleasing aspect, dresses well after the Indian manner, and speaks the English language with great fluency.<sup>121</sup>

Two miles from the Indian village, at the house of a Mr. Douglass,<sup>122</sup> we stopped again to breakfast. He lives on Indian lands, and of course is not permitted to sell liquors; but no objection is made to his entertaining travellers. Mr. Douglass at our desire very civilly rode through

(119) His Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks, presented to the Indians in 1785 by King George III, is now the oldest church in Ontario. It predated the first Moravian mission church in Upper Canada (near Amherstburg) by six years.

(120) As their time in the village must have been short, we assume that much of the information given here was supplied by Heckewelder, who would know of Brant from a previous visit to Upper Canada, and by Mr. Douglas, their host at breakfast.

(121) Brant was not highly esteemed by David Zeisberger, as his war influence frequently interfered with Fairfield's peaceful teachings.

(122) Wheeler Douglas, born in New York State, 1750, had a store in Albany before locating temporarily on Indian lands at present Brantford (Brant's Ford). He later settled about a mile east of the village of Burford.

the Grand river with us, in order to shew us the best place of fording. It is a deep and rapid stream, and in this place about 150 feet wide.<sup>123</sup>

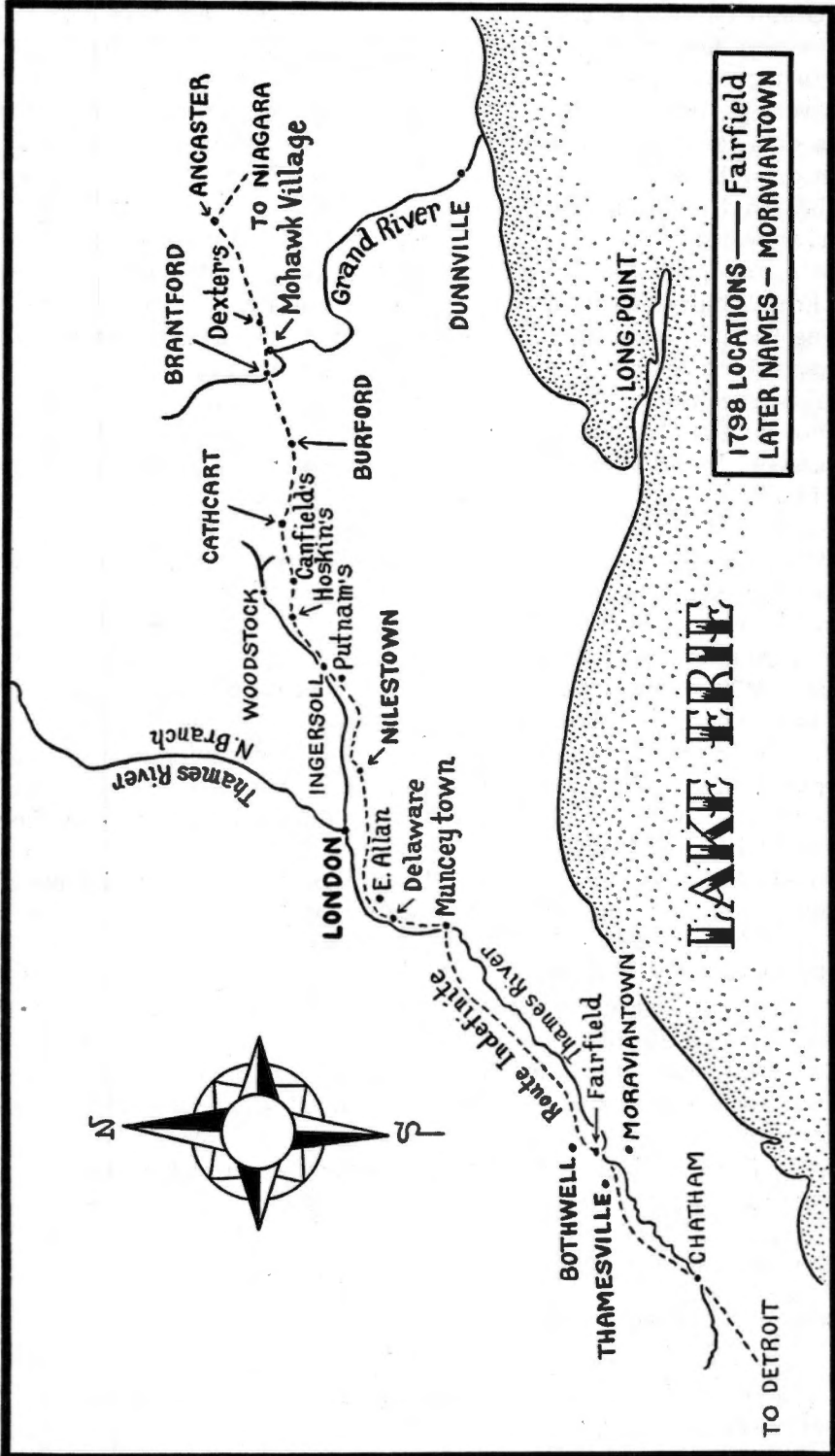
In the course of today we had to suffer much from the mosquitoes, who were particularly troublesome in low, swampy grounds. They seemed to be of a larger size than those we had seen in the States. Their bite often drew blood, both from us and from our horses. In the latter end of the month of May, as soon as the frosty nights cease, they make their appearance, and continue to be a great plague both to man and beast for about 6 weeks, when they begin gradually to disappear. Excessive heat debilitates them, and night frosts put a period to their existence. During the period of their greatest activity, there is no standing still out of doors for a moment, except in the night or during rain without being covered with them. Smoke alone will drive them away. When a great body of land is cleared, and there are no morassy grounds, they are fewer in number; but this is the case in few places in the new countries.

From Grand river we proceeded 10 miles over plains to Fowler's,<sup>124</sup> where we entered thick woodlands. Here they informed us that here was plenty of game. The settlements now became rarer and consisted of single farms. Towards Niagara, as observed above, the inhabitants are altogether from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Here we heard of none but New Englanders, whose lusty arms are best fitted to clear heavy-timbered forests. Where they design to make an improvement, they first build a hut, and then in a short time cut down and destroy the timber all around them. Their perseverance is astonishing. After having made a tedious journey of many hundred miles, from a well-settled country into the wilderness, they patiently endure all the difficulties they have there to contend with, esteeming the cheapness of their new purchase a compensation for every inconvenience. They farm here chiefly with oxen, and as the winters are long and they are mostly poor, use sleighs instead of waggons throughout the whole year. In one place, speaking with them of the badness of the roads, and the apparent impossibility that oxen could travel over them with sleighs, on account of the heaps of fallen timber lying in all directions, which as it were block them up, they told us that "that was all nothing, when one was used to it. If the oxen could but put their noses over the trees, they must jump over them, and the sleighs must follow."

From the time that we entered Canada we found everywhere that the inhabitants had some knowledge of the Indian congregation at Fairfield. Some call them, by way of distinction, "the Christian Indians"; but their most general name is that of "Moravian Indians." We had the

(123) Their crossing would be at the foot of Colborne Street near the present bridge leading to the Burford Road.

(124) Following present highway 53, they would reach Fowler's just west of Burford. John Fowler Sr. agreed on May 25, 1797 for lot 5 in concession 6, Burford Tp., separated by the road from his son John Fowler Jr., lot 5 in the 7th, part of whose property was given for the Burford Pioneer Cemetery.



pleasure to hear that they bear universally an excellent character. They were described to us as more civil, friendly and industrious than other Indians, and as not given like them to drinking. Many spoke of the hospitality and kindness they had experienced from them, and praised in particular the good order prevailing in their town, for which they gave their ministers much credit. "One would not have thought it possible," said some, "that Indians could be so far civilized. They live in a great measure like the white people, only they are better than they." This was the testimony given of them in some places before it was known that we were bound to their settlement, which it may be easily conceived, was highly gratifying and encouraging to us. This is just as the case should be. Wherever there is a living congregation of Jesus, whether gathered from among nominal Christians, or real heathens, it ought to be, and if faithful to the call of God, it will be a light to the surrounding country. Men will see their good works, and in consequence, whether they intend it or not, be induced to glorify their Father which is in Heaven. We can truly say that additional respect has always been paid to us, when it was known that we came from Bethlehem, and that respect increased, the nearer we approached to Fairfield. There have been instances, that under the feigned character of a Moravian or Herrnhuter,<sup>125</sup> people have travelled free of all expense from Niagara to Fairfield. Who then that has a right to these names need be ashamed of them? But might all be careful not to sully them!

We supped and took our night's lodging at Campfield's, 14 miles from Fowler's. The people here were poor, and had not much to set before us; but their zeal to serve us was so great, that even our hostess, in her haste to prepare our supper, made so great a fire that the flame caught hold of the roof of the house and all hands had to exert themselves to extinguish it. What a contrast was this to the reception at St. John's! This good woman is a child of sorrow. The house wherein she lived in New Hampshire before she moved here was burnt to the ground with her two daughters of the ages of 12 and 10 years, and all the property she had. She has now a son who is an idiot, and a most moving spectacle. All these tribulations she seems to bear with more than philosophical composure, even with Christian resignation, which heredifying expressions and the humble serenity of her countenance bespeak. If she does not enjoy the good things of this life, it is perhaps in mercy to her; at least it is for some good reason, best known to her Saviour. When all her troubles are at an end, she will once, like Lazarus, be conveyed by angels to Abraham's bosom.

\* \* \* \* \*

Note: Believing at first that they had travelled by the Woodstock-Ingersoll route, we pictured them staying with Abraham Canfield at

(125) A name sometimes given to Moravians, derived from Herrnhut, their early home in Saxony.

Beachville, or Samuel Canfield Jr. near Ingersoll. When we drove over this road Mortimer's fourteen miles stretched to twenty-five. As he had been amazingly accurate for four hundred miles why was he wrong now?

Further inquiry revealed a third Canfield property in Oxford East, on lots 11 and 12, 4th concession, just east of Oxford Centre, and several miles closer to Burford than the others. Here Samuel Canfield Sr. settled in 1793 with his wife Lucy and his sons Samuel Jr. and Abraham.<sup>126</sup> On Samuel's death, this farm was taken over by Abraham. Samuel Jr., meanwhile, settled near Ingersoll. Much of our confusion was due to the fact that Samuel Sr. had never applied for a patent for his land which had been granted elsewhere. This was adjusted later by purchases.

We made one more trip through Oxford County's rich dairy lands and the pieces of our puzzle fell into place; Mortimer was right again. Samuel Canfield's home, fourteen miles from Burford, was on the Old Indian trail, widened a bit by Thomas Ingersoll in 1793 for his settlers, and even more for the stage coaches of the 1830s. Still known locally as the "Old Stage Road" it leaves the Burford-Woodstock highway at Cathcart, runs through Vandecar and Oxford Centre, passes three miles south of Woodstock and turns onto the first concession road of West Oxford a mile south-east of Beachville.

At this turn lived Elisha Hoskins, the Moravians' guide along the concession to Ingersoll where the road becomes King Street, then straight on to Putnam's, south of the Thames River. (By 1812, Martin's tavern was a well-known landmark at Hoskin's corner.)

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#### May 19th

THE DIARY CONTINUES: The next morning we breakfasted with a very talkative man of the name of Hoskins.<sup>127</sup> He afterwards rode with us to the last house in the settlement, belonging to a Mr. Putnam,<sup>128</sup> who is

(126) Mrs. E. J. Canfield of Woodstock confirmed our records of the family and added that Samuel and Lucy Canfield, who died about 1806, were first buried on their own land but later reinterred in the cemetery of the United Church at Oxford Centre. The "Old Canfield Place" was a stage stop for some years and it was here that Oxford's first representative in parliament, Thomas Horner, was elected in 1820.

Charles Askin, in his "Journal of a Journey from Sandwich to York in the Summer of 1806" (*O.H.S. Papers and Records* VI pp. 15-20), mentions the "Campfield's" and others along this same road. Although he travelled in the opposite direction, his journal is more understandable when compared with Mortimer's diary.

(127) Elisha Hoskins (sometimes shown as Haskins) who came into the township with Ingersoll in 1793, received the crown grant to lot 6, broken front of West Oxford, while Luther Hoskins was granted lot 7 concession 1.

(128) Seth Putnam, one of Ingersoll's settlers from Massachusetts, received a crown grant in 1802 to lot 27, broken front and concession 1 in West Oxford. This property can be identified today, on the "Hamilton Road" between Ingersoll and London, by the Ingersoll waterworks reservoir, once Putnam's mill pond. In 1806 Charles Askin refers to Arnold's mill at about this spot, although the transfer from Putnam to Arnold was not made until 1809.

Seth Putnam would be able to give the travellers a great deal of advice as he had recently cleared part of the road over which they were to travel to Fairfield, and planned to finish the road-building as soon as the subscription lists were complete. Roads were then mainly built, not by the government, but by public subscription or by the efforts of the settlers. The village of Putnam, farther along this road, was named for the sons of Seth who settled there at a much later date.

a distant relation of General Putnam, surveyor-general to the United States, who was so friendly and serviceable to the Brethren last year on the Muskingum.<sup>129</sup> Mr. Putnam's house lies on the N.E. branch of the river Retrenche or Thames, about 18 miles above where it is joined by the N.W. branch,<sup>130</sup> and at the distance of 43 miles from the Mohawk town on Grand river. To this place the settlements may be said to extend westwards from Niagara. Those between Grand River and the Thames have altogether been made within the last year. The land on the Thames is tempting, being generally of the best quality. Messrs. Hoskins and Putnam live in a township which was taken up by a Major Ingerson [Ingersoll] from New England, who engaged in a certain stipulated time to bring 50 families to settle on it. All the emigrants are said to have been on the road, but as they did not appear at the time agreed on, the contract has been declared void. The major has, by the forfeit of his land to Government, sustained a loss of above 1000 pounds but the poor people will each receive the free grant of 200 acres.<sup>131</sup>

There are no stores or shops in the whole province of Upper Canada, except in the towns of Newark and York, and in the neighbourhood of Detroit. The most common articles to be had in every village in the eastern parts of the United States can hardly be procured here for any money. Br. Heckewelder for instance was in want of tobacco and could get none. He began at length today to smoke dried leaves of trees. Tradesmen, who follow their profession, are also few in number. There is not a saddle to be met with in the whole province.

The situation of the settlers with respect to religious instruction and schools is much to be deplored. In all the inland parts both are totally wanting. In one place they remarked to us: "The Indians in Moravian town and Brandt's town have churches and schools. The white people have neither. Our children will become heathen, and theirs Christians". (Mortimer's footnote: The people in Brandt's town bear however but a poor character. They are said to differ but little from other heathen.)

At Ingerson's [Ingersoll's] intended settlement the river Thames is the boundary between the British and Indian territories. The land to the N. of it belongs to the Chippeways and Massasaugies. Lower down on the river the British line extends farther northward.

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(129) The proposed return of the missionaries and some of the Indians to their former villages (principally Schoenbrun and Gnadenhuetten) on the Muskingum River in Ohio, was made possible by the assistance and cooperation of General Rufus Putnam, sometimes called the father and founder of Ohio.

(130) The forks of the Thames, now in the heart of the city of London.

(131) For a brief sketch of this settlement, see: J. H. Ingersoll, "The Ancestry of Laura Ingersoll Secord," Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records* XXXIII (1926) pp. 360-4.

May 20th

The 20th we rode 36 miles<sup>132</sup> through woodlands, without seeing a house, to the so-called Delaware township. When we stopped anywhere, we made a fire to keep off the mosquitoes. It is not the heat or the flame but the smoke chiefly that drives away these unwelcome guests; and if to breathe the sooty exhalation be at all times disagreeable it is in this case only submitting to the least of two evils. Our path was a "newly opened road", in some places hardly discernible, were it not for the "blazes" or marks made by cuts on the barks of the trees, on both sides of them.<sup>133</sup>

We saw and passed over immense tracts of land which had lately been set fire to by Indians hunters, and were in part still burning. In some places the sun was obscured, and the mosquitoes were expelled, by the clouds of smoke ascending from the wide-extended conflagration. By this means the country is made more open to hunt in, and produces greater abundance of grass for the deer to feed on. This burning of the woods in the western countries is probably the sole cause of that peculiar kind of haziness which is frequently observed, throughout the Eastern part of the continent, to follow a Westerly wind, in the spring and fall of the year. It seems to have a great influence on the weather. The burning generally takes place during the first dry weather in the spring; perhaps the smoke for a time absorbs the moisture of the atmosphere, preventing the union of the watery particles, that would otherwise float together; at length they become too ponderous, and then follow those torrents of rain which generally fall in the month of May. When the woods are set fire to before winter, it is followed with similar effects. Hence the Indians, when they see anybody set the woods a burning, commonly say: "So you intend to have much rain soon!"

The Delaware township was begun to be settled about three years since by Mr. Ebenezer Allen,<sup>134</sup> from the Genesee country. It contains at

(132) Their thirty-six miles can be traced along today's highways and secondary roads through Putnam, Dorchester and Nilestown on the "Hamilton Road" which they would leave 1½ miles west of Nilestown to follow the "Commissioners' Road". This takes the high ground south of London, past Westminster Hospital, one of Canada's largest veterans' hospitals, along the first concession of Westminster Township, past the London reservoir and down the hill to Byron village. It then follows a winding course, south of the Thames to Delaware. Although the Commissioners' Road was first surveyed by Simon Zelotes Watson in 1809 it no doubt followed closely the earlier trail used by Mortimer.

(133) Putnam's road, previously mentioned.

(134) Ebenezer Allan was unquestionably one of the most colourful characters of the period; land speculator, self-appointed immigration agent, farmer, miller, trader. His earlier experiences had included service with Butler's Rangers during the Revolution and as lieutenant in the Indian Department, for which he was granted two thousand acres in the Delaware district. He was continually in disfavour with the Canadian government and with his neighbours, and though a Tory in the Revolutionary War he was prepared to welcome the Americans in 1812. He was arrested for his treasonable actions but may have been released before his death, April 13, 1813. (See: Fred C. Hamil, "Ebenezer Allan in Canada" *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* XXXVI (1944) pp. 83-93).

present 30 families.<sup>135</sup> They have good land, excellent timber, fine creeks for mill-seats, and springs of the best water. All these advantages are rarely to be met with in one district. Their trade is with Detroit. We lodged at Mr. Hilburn's [Kilbourn's],<sup>136</sup> who has built a grist and saw mill. According to Mr. Allen's contract with the government, he is bound to build a church here next year, and the settlers are to choose a minister. Both Mr. Allen and Mr. Hilburn informed us that from the acquaintance of the people there with the brethren at Fairfield, they were desirous to obtain a minister of our church. They said they had conversed with Mr. Senseman and Mr. Young [Jung] on the subject and would be glad to receive either of them. They could also be willing to submit to the tenets and discipline of our church.<sup>137</sup> We told them that it was not so much a disposition to receive our doctrine and church constitution as a sincere desire after salvation that was looked for in persons who wished to join our fellowship. On their desire to know to whom they should make their request regularly, we directed them to write to the Rev'd. John Ettwein, Bethlehem, at same time giving them little encouragement to expect their wish to be complied with. They have upon the whole the character of serious, orderly people, though a principal person there does not set the brightest example with respect to morals.<sup>138</sup>

#### May 21st

So far we had been able to proceed on our journey without a guide, but it was now necessary to take one, on account of the pathless course we had to pursue, and the great difficulty of proceeding at all, if not well acquainted with the country.<sup>139</sup> Guides are here, by a perversion of

(135) The principal settlement was north and east of the present village of Delaware. Allan's log cabin was on the heights about a mile east of the Komoka bridge, lot 1 concession 2.

(136) The Kilbourn mill was on Dingman Creek, part of Allan's crown grant which included land on both sides of the creek, lots 3 and 4 in the broken front and first concession, lot 4 in the second. Timothy and Aaron Kilbourn did not receive crown grants in Delaware. Aaron purchased from Allan his choice, lot 1 in concession 1 and broken front. In 1804 he sold this property at a substantial profit to Andrew Westbrook. In 1805 Westbrook sold Aaron and Timothy Kilbourn part of lots C and D on the Thames, east of the present Kilworth bridge.

(137) Allan must have realized that this was an impossibility, as in accordance with the grant, the church building was to be for the "rites and ceremonies of the church of England". Moreover, the Moravians' work was with the Indians, and while they ministered to the whites in their neighbourhood and held frequent services for them, they withdrew when ministers of other denominations came into the territory. Six years later the church had not been built and the Executive Council revoked part of Allan's grant.

(138) Ebenezer Allan was soon placed in his proper category by the missionaries. History charges him with forgery, counterfeiting, blackmail and larceny but skips lightly over his polygamous marriages to Indians and whites. At the time of Mortimer's visit, Allan recognized Lucy, an Indian, and Milly (Mary) Gregory as wives and had several children by each.

(139) From this point we shall not attempt to trace their path as they obviously followed no recognized road. From Delaware to Fairfield today is only thirty-five comparatively level miles by highway No. 2. The windings of the Thames and their indefinite route through the woods may have stretched the distance for Mortimer to fifty-five miles.

language, universally called "pilots". At Monsey-town,<sup>140</sup> 10 miles from Allen's and 45 from Fairfield, we crossed to the N. side of the Thames. This town is pleasantly situated, on a high bank near the river; but the Indians there have a black and dirty appearance. In their houses and persons, they did not appear to us to be so decent as the Indians of Brandt's town. They are all heathen and because they have a bad character among the white people, when from home, sometimes call themselves "Moravian Indians". Here we bought milk for our breakfast and Indian corn for our horses.

The Monsys are a tribe of Delawares: Br. Heckewelder could therefore speak with them. He entered into conversation with a friendly old man, who had been in Bethlehem above 40 years ago and remembered the names of some of the brethren there. He asked in particular after the late Br. Kliest,<sup>141</sup> of whom he said he bought the best gun he had ever had in his life. He had heard that Bethlehem was destroyed during the war, for which he was very sorry, as the people there were always very kind to the Indians. It was to his no small joy that Br. Heckewelder assured him that Bethlehem was still standing, and that the inhabitants loved the Indians as much as ever. "In particular", said he, "an old chief whose hair is more grey than yours," (meaning Br. Ettwein), "has a great affection for all the Indians, and prays for them every day to the great Spirit."

Here, as usual in the neighbourhood of congregations of the brethren, there are individuals who have left our fellowship. We saw two women of this description, who knew us to be brethren. Their countenances, before Br. Heckewelder could recollect them, seemed to us to betray that characteristic consciousness of something that condemned them, which is as discernible in the copper-coloured face of the Indian as in the more delicate skin of the European. Hence the expression: "He looks like a runaway Moravian".

This was the most fatiguing day we had experienced throughout our whole journey. The weather was warm, the mosquitoes troublesome, our road uncertain, and in many places swampy or intersected by gullies and steep precipices, and we had mostly to fight our way through thick bushes. Add to this, we hastened in order to get forward. We comforted ourselves with the thoughts that these inconveniences, not to say hardships, which we had expected would soon have an end, at least for the present. Missionaries to the Indians should not be discouraged at trifles, but always be in expectation of greater trials, because very great ones may come upon them. What we have endured was nothing compared with the sufferings of our brethren and sisters when taken prisoners by the

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(140) Now the village of Muncey on the Indian reservation of the same name. These Indians did not accept the service of the Moravians and although they are nominally Christian today the incidence of crime on this reservation is much higher than on the Moraviantown reserve.

(141) Daniel Kliest, expert locksmith of Bethlehem, who died in 1792.

Wiondats [Wyandottes],<sup>142</sup> and unmercifully driven before them like beasts of burden.

At night we made a fire, and laid ourselves down to rest on the banks of the Thames. We were too much tired to build a cabin; and the favourable weather rendered it unnecessary. The night was made pleasant by a refreshing breeze that sprung up, so that we could sleep soundly. Had we reclined in beds of down, in the most commodious chamber, we could not have felt ourselves more refreshed than we did the next morning. A few sausages that we had taken with us from Bethlehem were at this time very acceptable with our tea, furnishing us with a relishing and substantial supper and breakfast.

#### May 22nd

The 22nd. What impeded our progress considerably, both yesterday and today, was the vast quantity of timber that had been blown down by two great storms, which raged in these parts last year. This obliged us to go many miles round about. We heard of one man who had missed his way here for 14 days, and of another who found it again at the end of 16, both almost famished to death. Our inexperienced guide also lost it more than once, and would probably not have easily found it again, had he not been directed by the superior judgement of Br. Heckewelder, confirmed by an appeal to a small pocket compass which we had along with us. The weather was cloudy, threatening rain, and he was leading us N.E. instead of S.W. We parted with him when within 6 miles of Fairfield, thankful for the services he had rendered us, notwithstanding his blunders. His pay was a dollar a day. Soon after, the paths became wider and more numerous, and we saw frequent tracks of cattle and horses. Approaching still nearer to the place of our destination, we observed trees peeled, sugar huts, and other marks of the vicinity of an Indian town. At length, quitting the woods, our gladdened eyes discovered Fairfield,<sup>143</sup> finely presenting itself on a regular and beautiful eminence, on the northern bank of the Thames, and surrounded by fruitful fields and gar-

(142) This refers to the terrible journey following the sacking of their towns on the Muskingum in 1781, when the missionaries and some of the Indians were taken as prisoners, first to Upper Sandusky and later to Detroit, then a British garrison town. John Heckewelder, his wife and child were among the group, which also included Mrs. Sensemann and her four-day-old baby.

(143) Members attending the 1952 annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society had the pleasure of visiting the site of Old Fairfield, founded in 1792 by David Zeisberger and his fellow missionaries, burned in 1813 by Kentucky troops, re-discovered after years of oblivion, excavated in 1942 to 1946 by Wilfrid Jury, and more recently made into a memorial park by the Fairfield Trust, under the leadership of the late Dr. John R. MacNicol (The Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa., on June 15, 1949, about a year before his death, conferred on MacNicol the honorary degree, Doctor of Laws, in appreciation of his work in re-discovering and restoring Fairfield. He had been for nineteen years a member of the Canadian House of Commons). Western Ontario's principal highway, No. 2, cuts across what was once Fairfield's main street and covers whatever may remain of the ashes of the Moravian church, one of the earliest in Western Ontario. Descendants of the Fairfield Indians now live in Moraviantown (once New Fairfield) a mile or so away, across the river from their original town, where they built their homes following the destructive War of 1812.

dens, enclosed with neat fences. We hastened over the well constructed bridge at the northern entrance of the town, towards the church, where we alighted at the house of Br. and Sister Zeisberger, by whom we were most heartily welcomed, as also immediately after by Br. and Sr. Senseman,<sup>144</sup> Br. Edward,<sup>145</sup> Br. Young [Jung],<sup>146</sup> and by all the Indian brethren and sisters. Our joy was great in finding ourselves so happily arrived at the end of our journey, or at least at a place where we would refresh ourselves for a time among our white and Indian brethren and sisters. And we were above all filled with humble thanks to our Saviour for his generous preservation amidst all the dangers which had surrounded and sometimes threatened us, and of which it is not too much to say that those only who have made such journies can have adequate conceptions. We have travelled in all 583 miles, through a tract of country, which though not altogether a wilderness, in its present rude state, is in many respects as perilous as if it were so. The angel of the Lord has watched over us by day and by night and preserved us from all evil.

This journal has been written thus extensively at the desire of some brethren and sisters in Bethlehem and Nazareth, our particular friends. If they (Mortimer's footnote: Society for the propagation of the gospel, which meets in Bethlehem, or the Directors of the same) think that the perusal of it would be acceptable to our brethren and sisters generally, and other lovers of Zion, they are at liberty to give it a wide circulation, either in its present form or curtailed. In addition to the effort to entertain Christian friends, our objects have been to display the "ways of God to man", and to give useful and interesting information. We call upon and intreat all who may read or hear what we have written to unite with us in praises to God our Saviour, for the mercies conferred on us, in that we have been counted worthy to be employed in the propagation of his gospel among the heathen and been brought safe this far on our journies. And we request their fervent prayers that the blessing which has hitherto rested on the missions of the Brethren in America may be continued and enlarged, and that all heathen nations may be brought to the saving knowledge of the gospel; that Jesus, who alone is worthy, may see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. To him be all honor and glory, both now and ever, Amen.

#### End of Diary

Mortimer assumed his Fairfield duties with great enthusiasm. When Zeisberger saw his new assistant's record of the journey, he immediately turned over to him the keeping of the official diary of the mission, which had been one of his own duties for at least seventeen years, in Ohio,

(144) Gottlob Sensemann, born Bethlehem, Oct. 9, 1745, died in Fairfield Jan. 4, 1800.

(145) William Edwards, born in Wiltshire, England, April 24, 1724, died at Goshen, Ohio, Oct. 8, 1801.

(146) Michael Jung, born at Engoldsheim, Alsace, Jan. 5, 1743, died at Lititz, Pa. Dec. 13, 1826. He retired from missionary work following the burning of Fairfield.

Michigan and Upper Canada. Zeisberger's personal diary of this long period has been translated into English and published.<sup>147</sup> His official diary is now being translated and annotated by Professor Paul E. Mueller of Moravian College, Bethlehem.

In the conference that followed their arrival, Heckewelder directed the group of missionaries in planning their future program. While Mortimer was to stay to help Zeisberger, Sensemann and Jung, Heckewelder and Edwards would lead a party of six Indians back to the Muskingum to prepare a few rough cabins and plant crops for the use of those who would settle there later in the year. Their journey, by way of Detroit, Raisin River, Miami Rapids, Upper Sandusky and the forks of the Muskingum, was the most horrible in Heckewelder's experience. Fallen trees, heavy underbrush, tangled grapevines, thickets of tall nettles, weeds that cut like files, would have been bad enough without the threat of deadly snakes and the constant annoyance of mosquitoes.<sup>148</sup>

In July, Zeisberger, in spite of his advanced age, led seven families, thirty-three persons, back to Ohio to be the nucleus of a settlement of Christian Indians, drawn from the Ohio tribes. Mortimer was to accompany them and it was to be his privilege to remain as Zeisberger's assistant until the latter's death at Goshen, Ohio, in 1808.

On August 15, 1798, following a special communion service for the whole congregation, the landing place was crowded as everyone came to watch the seven Indian canoes and Zeisberger's canopied craft glide away along the river. With six other canoes as an escort and with Fairfield's young folk racing along the bank for a last sight of their departing friends, Zeisberger and Mortimer left Fairfield forever.

Their adventures on water and land during their two-month journey to the Muskingum are another story which we will tell at a later date. Elma E. Gray's book presently entitled, "From the Delaware to the Thames," will, when published, tell the highlights of this and many more experiences in the lives of the Moravian teachers and their Christian Indians.

The superior quality of Mortimer's diary has given us a clear indication that our guides on this journey were cultivated, intelligent and sincere gentlemen, worthy representatives of the world's oldest Protestant church and followers of the world's first Protestant foreign missionaries.

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(147) Eugene F. Bliss, ed. *Diary of David Zeisberger* (Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co. For the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1885).

(148) John Heckewelder, *Accounts of History Manners and Customs of Indian Nations*, (Philadelphia, 1818) also: Edward Rondthaler, *Life of John Heckewelder*, (Philadelphia, Ward, 1847).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am pleased to acknowledge the willing co-operation of the following historians, archivists and librarians, specialists in their fields or their districts, who helped to trace the route and identify the pioneers mentioned in the diary:

The Right Reverend S. H. Gapp, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Northern Provinces, Bethlehem, Pa., who called to my attention the original manuscript, secured permission for its publication and helped in the research;

The Reverend Edward H. Swavelly, librarian and curator of Whitefield House, museum of the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.;

Dr. George Spragge and his staff at the Ontario Archives;

The Public Archives of Canada;

The Library of the University of Western Ontario;

Public Libraries in Easton, Bethlehem, Wilkes Barre and Wyalusing, Pennsylvania; Bath, Geneseo and Buffalo, New York; London and St. Catharines, Ontario.

County Registrars in Easton, Pennsylvania; Bath and Elmira, New York; St. Catharines, Woodstock and London, Ontario;

Officers of the Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty;

Mr. T. Roy Woodhouse, Mrs. C. S. Tolan, Mrs. E. J. Canfield and Mrs. R. J. Powell of the Ontario Historical Society.

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The Moravian Historical Society expresses its gratitude to Mr. Leslie R. Gray for excellent work in editing Mortimer's Diary, and to the Ontario Historical Society for the very great courtesy shown our Historical Society.

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## THE MISSION TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVES AT LONDON

By J. I. Cooper

More than a hundred years ago, April 1852, the first copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* went on sale in Toronto and Montreal bookshops. *Ontario History* drew the attention of its readers to this event through an article by Professor Fred Landon, "When Uncle Tom's Cabin came to Canada."<sup>1</sup> Canadians of that day, and especially Upper Canadians, had no need of Mrs. Stowe's best seller to understand the iniquities of slavery. Among them were old-established communities of negroes. In the very decade of the 'fifties, there was a new migration, occasioned by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act in September 1850. This measure jeopardized free negroes living in the northern United States, as well as those who had fled from actual servitude. The migration of the 1850's was large, unpremeditated, and unprepared for; in a word, panic flight.<sup>2</sup> The effects of the exodus were felt most keenly in what is now southwestern Ontario. The negroes competed with whites for jobs. Their children created problems for schools. "... A deep aversion is felt by the lower classes of the colonists towards the coloured population. They say 'we wish them no harm, but we do not want them here'."<sup>3</sup> To the mitigation of such difficulties, various organizations gave attention. This paper is concerned with the efforts of the Church of England, through what was variously called "The Slave Mission," or "The Mission to the Free Coloured," at London, Canada West. The recent acquisition by the Public Archives of Canada of copies of the records of the Colonial Church and School Society, the agency concerned, makes an appraisal possible.<sup>4</sup>

The Colonial Church and School Society was no stranger to Canada when it undertook the London mission. In 1841, under its original name, the Newfoundland School Society, it had begun work in the Diocese of Quebec. Ten years later, in the wake of extensive emigration from the United Kingdom, it amalgamated with a kindred organization, the Colonial Church Society, assuming then the title employed in this paper. By this date, it was in operation in virtually all the British American dioceses, as well as in other parts of the colonial empire. The Colonial Church and School Society broadly resembled the older Anglican missionary bodies, such as the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. It had committees in Britain and the colonies, which collected money for, and stimulated in-

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(1) Fred Landon, "When Uncle Tom's Cabin came to Canada," (*Ontario History*, XLIV, No. 1, 1-5).

(2) Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, N.H., 1941, Chap. 13.

(3) *Annual Report*, Colonial Church and School Society, 1853-54, London, 1854, 30.

(4) Unless otherwise indicated, the information contained in this paper is drawn from this source. The copies are in microfilm, and comprise, annual reports, minutes, and "Occasional Papers," some of the latter being extended accounts of the London mission.

terest in, the missions and schools the Society maintained. The Colonial Church and School Society was Evangelical, and remarkable for the somewhat narrow, but politically and socially important group, which provided the principal direction. Thus, the central committee in the United Kingdom contained such characteristic figures as Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Edward Buxton, and Hon A. Kinnaird, as well as "... other distinguished Noblemen and Gentlemen." Closely associated was a women's committee, "The Ladies' Society for Promoting the Education of Negroes," which was destined to play a decisive part in what transpired at London.

In February, 1851, the Colonial Church and School Society received a communication from the Rev. Martin M. Dillon, then stationed in Dominica, the Leeward Islands. Dillon was evangelical in outlook, ardent in temperament, and possessed of considerable West Indian experience. Dillon had been an officer in the 89th Regiment, and had served in the Islands and Canada, but he had sold out his commission in December 1842, and studied for Holy Orders. In 1844, he was labouring in Antigua, and, as has been indicated, seven years later in Dominica. When he first appeared in the Colonial Church and School Society's records, Dillon was about thirty-eight years of age, but already a victim of ill health. He pressed for an appointment in what he called "a cold colony," and, failing to secure one, returned to England late in 1852. He was given casual employment by the Society as a missionary, and soon demonstrated a real skill in coaxing half-crowns and sovereigns from reluctant North-country pockets. Dillon showed talent, too, in appealing to more exalted audiences. In April, 1853, Hon. Mrs. Kinnaird informed the secretary of the Colonial Church and School Society that statements of the Rev. Martin Dillon respecting the religious conditions of the fugitive slaves in Canada had so interested her, that she would raise the sum of £1000 annually for their instruction. It is clear from Mrs. Kinnaird's declaration that she was speaking for the women's group concerned with negro education. What had attracted her was an address delivered by Dillon before the general meeting of the Colonial Church and School Society, the report of which read: "[he spoke] from knowledge of the United States and the Colonies . . . first as an officer, . . . and afterwards as a Minister . . . Reference had been made to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' He was able to bear testimony to the faithfulness of its delineation; indeed, the cruelties which he himself had witnessed in the West Indies even exceeded any described by Mrs. Stowe . . . " The appeal to revelation according to Mrs. Stowe is striking. Dillon would seem the logical choice to initiate the project, yet for over a year, the Society hesitated, doubtful (with only too accurate prevision) of Dillon's health. Other appointments were canvassed, Christieville in Canada East, and a chaplaincy among the English navvies engaged in railway construction in France. Finally, on June 20, 1854, it was resolved to commission him for the coloured mission,

and to seek letters commendatory from the Archbishop of Canterbury. On July 4, Dillon sailed from Portsmouth.

He did not go single-handed. The Rev. Martin Dillon was accompanied by a layman, R. M. Ballantine and two student teachers, Sarah and Mary Ann Titré. Ballantine was a graduate of the Mico Charity Training College, Kingston, Jamaica, and the Titré girls were natives of Dominica. The little party was therefore entirely West Indian by extraction or experience. The application of West Indian lessons to Canadian conditions, at first thought, may seem far removed from reality. There was, however, this to be said: By means of the school maintained by the S.P.C.K., the Church of England had eased the transition from slavery to freedom in the Islands. As is well known, the apprenticeship system, an integral part of the emancipation measure of 1834, had failed.<sup>5</sup> In the face of that failure, it was the churches through their Sunday schools and day-schools, which had made possible the peaceful change. At his final appearance before the executive of the Colonial Church and School Society, Dillon made no exaggerated claims: Mission schools, for adults as well as for children, would provide for the refugee negroes, and prove the best medium for breaking down racial prejudice. The ideal was a central, or normal school, which would prepare teachers and catechists for the outstations. It was a modest ideal, and probably within the range of the Society. Although the statement was not made explicitly, Dillon hoped that with improved education and economic status, the negroes would merge into general provincial life. At the same time, it is clear that he was not prepared for the basic characteristic of the Canadian world. He spoke of the mitigating effects of the presence of a clergyman who was also a gentleman. The cool reliance on class-distinctions was surely far remote from realities, and bound to founder on the rugged egalitarianism of the western peninsula. It is interesting to note that even at this early date, London was favoured as the mission centre.

After a stormy passage of seven weeks, Dillon and his party landed at New York, and passed on to Montreal. There, he saw in operation a normal school for white children similar to the one he projected for coloured. This was conducted by the Colonial Church and School Society, and, four years later, by the Society in conjunction with McGill University. Thus, the present Macdonald School for Teachers, the principal source of supply for the English Protestant schools of Quebec, traces its descent from the work of the Colonial Church and School Society. At Toronto, Dillon received a licence from Bishop John Strachan, whose immense diocese at that time covered the London area. He also waited on the Earl of Elgin, then completing the last year of his Canadian governorship, whose experience in Jamaica made him sympathetic towards Dillon's

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(5) W. L. Burn, *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies*, London, 1937.

plans. Aided by Ballantine, Dillon undertook a species of survey of the negro refugee settlements. They were widely scattered, extending westward from Lake Simcoe to the Detroit River. They met the principals in the earlier rehabilitation schemes, the Rev. William King of the Elgin Association, and Josiah Henson "said to be 'the real Uncle Tom'." The survey confirmed the preference for London.

London had much to recommend it: the geographical advantages were clear. Another powerful attraction was the presence of a large group of evangelical clergy and laity, all deeply influenced by "... the zealous, indefatigable, and hard-working ... Rector of London," Benjamin Cronyn. He promised the use of St. Paul's Church, and undertook to secure the site for a school. On November 20, 1854, the start was made, classes being held in the barracks until the school house was ready. The first day netted eleven youngsters; the week-end, fifty. The children were both white and coloured, the former coming from the soldiers' families. The Titré girls were placed in charge; so Dillon could make the interesting pronouncement, "... it is the first instance, either in the United States or in this country, in which coloured persons have been introduced as teachers of mixed classes ... It succeeded ... " About eight weeks later, January 8, 1855, the school house was opened. Classes were divided, leaving the small children at the barracks, and "drafting" the elder to the school. The precise location of these early efforts cannot be determined. The barracks were certainly situated somewhere in "the military reserve," which occupied present-day Victoria Park. The school house is more elusive: probably it adjoined St. Paul's Cathedral.

Throughout 1855, the Free Coloured Mission flourished. Early in the year, a London Corresponding Committee, that is to say, a branch of the Colonial Church and School Society, was set up. It was representative of the solid core of local Anglicanism, Cronyn; Brough; Flood; Hayward; Goodhue; Lauriston; Wilson; Goodhue; Beecher; Labatt; Bailey. The teaching staff was reinforced by two, Hurst, a vigorous Newfoundland catechist, and Miss Jemima Williams, whom Dillon described unfeelingly as "... a good female teacher, — one of middle age ... " Five years later, she died at the advanced age of twenty-nine. The new arrivals made possible an expansion of the curriculum. According to Ballantine, the basic offering was "Scripture Reading; Junior Reading; Spelling and Alphabet; Writing on Paper; Writing on Slates; Arithmetic." By mid-summer, "In addition to the above branches, the whole school receives ... grammar, geography, mental arithmetic, natural history, natural philosophy, and ... plain needle-work ... " All this had a

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(6) A mixed school for coloured and white children was in operation on the Buxton Mission, near Chatham. The staff, however, was white. A full description appears in the *Montreal Witness*, July 28, 1851. I am indebted for this information to John A. Johnstone, a graduate student of McGill University, who is making a study of the history of the Presbyterian churches in Canada, 1844-1875.

dramatic effect on attendance, sending it skyrocketing to 450 with 960 applications for admission! The site by St. Paul's Church had to be relinquished in favour of the more spacious artillery barracks. These were a range of buildings facing what is now Wellington Street, between Dufferin and Princess avenues.<sup>7</sup> A letter written by Jemima Williams late in 1855 throws a golden Indian Summer glow on the school: " . . . Mr. Hurst has taught them to sing very nicely . . . My principal object in imparting instruction is to give a clear and concise view of their state by nature, and the means which God has provided for their Salvation . . . I also give them some instruction in writing, and in 'counting up,' as they call arithmetic . . . "

This was the peak of the Mission's fortune. While it still rode high, the director, the Rev. Martin Dillon, enjoyed a personal triumph. The coloured people of London and the vicinity resolved to celebrate Emancipation Day, August 1, in fitting style, with a public demonstration and religious service. This Dillon conducted for them in St. Paul's Church, whither " . . . between 600 and 700 marched with banners flying, and headed by the band from the barracks. I preached from St. John, XIII, 34-36 . . . " In the afternoon, there was a luncheon, attended by the mayor and "the most respectable citizens." The event marked was, of course, slave emancipation within the British Empire, effected twenty-one years before. The sentiments enshrined must have been entirely familiar to Dillon, and the leading part he played attested his experienced approach to the problem of the fugitive American negro in Canada.

Even then disaster was not far off. The winter of 1855-56 must have been unusually severe. The Titré girls fell ill. " . . . One is now confined to her room with the seeds of consumption; the other is spitting blood . . . " In the early months of 1856, Dillon's health suddenly failed. He was not robust, he bore heavy responsibility, and he may have felt conscience-stricken at the fate of the young women he had brought from Dominica. Then there were financial worries, arising chiefly from the rapid expansion of the school itself. He suffered what would be recognized to-day as a nervous breakdown. Dillon displayed all the distressing symptoms. He developed a persecution complex directed against the secretary of the Colonial Church and School Society. This was the more unhappy, since the official had recently died, and since there was nothing in the record to bear out the charges. Dillon alleged that his reports were garbled, retracted, and then repeated in vague terms. A personal vendetta next broke out between him and Hurst, the junior master. In May, 1856, a commission set up by the Bishop of Toronto, reviewed the case, which was rapidly becoming scandalous. Dillon was handled with considerable charity. His intemperate language was deplored, and his allegations respecting the reports were described merely as unus-

(7) F. F. Passmore, *London, A Plan . . . shewing . . . the Military Reserve . . . 1853 . . .*

tained. He was, however, rebuked, and warned against similar imprudence. Dillon thereupon resigned, and was followed by Ballantine, who apparently felt that he was in some way implicated in the disaster which had overtaken his chief. Somewhat earlier (May 5), Sarah and Mary Ann Titré had begun their long journey home to Dominica. For a few months more, Dillon lingered on in Colonial Church and School Society Correspondence. He wrote distracted letters, raking out old charges, and begging for money. At its meeting on November 4, 1856, the Society voted £40 to pay his passage home to the United Kingdom. It is pleasant to know that Dillon recovered. At a later date he returned to Canada, settling again in the Diocese of Huron. He served at Port Stanley and at Port Dover, and it was at the latter place that he died in the winter of 1884.

The elimination of Dillon did not end the mission to the negro refugees at London. It continued for at least three years more, that is until the summer of 1859. During this period, the principals were Miss Williams, Hurst, and a new master, Thomas Hughes. They maintained a continuity, although since no one of them had West Indian contacts, one of the unique features of the experiment had gone. A striking note by the Rev. Isaac Hellmuth, commissioner of the Colonial Church and School Society, keys the picture. "... In the afternoon, accompanied by Dr. Cronyn I attended Mr. Hurst's Adult ... School consisting entirely of coloured people ... It was an interesting sight to see so many grown-up men and women sitting like little children to be instructed in the first rudiments of both secular and religious knowledge ..." This is one of the few extended descriptions of the school. At an earlier time, Arch-deacon Neil Bethune, on a visitation of the western deaneries had reported briefly that he was "... highly gratified with the mode of instruction ... [and] ... the free and happy manner in which white and coloured were classed ..." Col. Tulloch, the military superintendant, was favourably impressed likewise, "[by] the admirable system of education ..." The terms, mode of instruction, or, system of education, seem to have been used in a general sense. It is probable, however, that some form of monitorial teaching was employed. Although this system would be regarded as out of date by progressive instructors of the period, it would explain the large enrollment of the school in comparison with the small staff.<sup>8</sup> It would also help to explain the extreme economy with which the school was conducted. It was in 1859 that the end came, and then, not so much in defeat as in the vindication of the principles the Colonial Church and School Society missionaries upheld. They reported that the public schools of London accepted negro children without qualification or segregation.

(8) G. W. Spragge, *Monitorial Schools in the Canadas, 1810-1845*, University of Toronto, thesis, 1935.

For more than a decade, the Colonial Church and School Society continued to aid the negroes living in Canada West. Indeed, according to Vernon's *Old Church in the New Dominion*, it expended over \$60,000 in this type of social service. Since it was done chiefly outside London, it falls beyond the limits of this paper. Chatham, Windsor, and Dresden were the new centres. Between Dresden and London there was a direct connection, because it was there that Jemima Williams died,<sup>9</sup> and Hughes, who had embraced the ecclesiastical state, ministered. On one later occasion, London did appear. In the summers of 1865 and 1866, two students belonging to Huron College "undertook a tour among the coloured people in the towns of the western part of the province." It is not certain whether they laboured among the refugees or among the general negro population. Probably it was the latter, for, as the reports of the Society indicate, there was a substantial draining away of coloured folk after 1865, with the conclusion, that is, of the Civil War. Nor is it possible to identify by name these Levites from records presently in the possession of the College or the Diocese of Huron. They will have to stand as anonymous representatives of what the Rev. Martin Dillon had observed ten years before: "... the feelings of the Christian people of all denominations [in London] were most favourable . . ."

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(9) *Montreal Witness*, January 18, 1860.

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### OUR CONTRIBUTORS

William Colgate is the author of *Canadian Art — Its Origin and Development*, of a monograph on the late Dr. C. W. Jefferys, and of other articles dealing with early Canadian history. This spring his *Toronto Art Students' League, 1896-1904* was a beautiful example of fine book work.

C. H. J. Snider is one of the leading authorities on the early ships of the Great Lakes. He is the author of *In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelvers, Under the Red Jack, Schooner Days on the Great Lakes*. He is working now on a new book, *Acorn of RCN, His Majesty's Provincial Marine, 1755-1813*.

With this issue, our First Vice-President, Mr. L. R. Gray completes Mortimer's diary of his journey from Bethlehem to Fairfield.

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## THE SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1953

The financial statement of the Society, which will be presented at the annual meeting, is given herewith.

## YEAR'S OPERATIONS

Receipts		Expenditures	
Fees—		Publishing Ontario History—	
Life Members .....	\$ 50.00	Printing .....	\$1,106.60
Annual Members .....	852.14	Engraving .....	67.48
Aff'l Socs, Pub. Librs		Postage .....	62.40
and Corp. Members 160.19		Envelopes .....	37.23
	<u>\$1,062.33</u>	Express & l.d.	
Sales, Current Pubs. ....	11.50	phone charges ....	18.73
Interest, Bond and Bank .....	217.90	Honorarium	
Rec'd for Engraving .....	45.00	Editor-in-Chief ....	400.00
Surplus, Annual Meeting .....	81.85		<u>\$1,692.44</u>
Legislative Grant .....	1,300.00	Honorarium, Sec.-Treas .....	600.00
		Fees and Subscriptions .....	18.76
		Express and Fwdg. Charges....	42.25
		Office Postage .....	48.42
		Addressograph Repairs .....	4.95
		Grant to Museum Comte.....	10.00
		Office Printing .....	98.95
		Annual Meeting, Notices,	
		Postage, etc. ....	19.52
		Trav. Exp. Members Ex. Com.	90.90
		Sundries .....	11.34
		Surplus .....	81.05
	<u>\$2,718.58</u>		<u>\$2,718.58</u>

An outstanding printing account received 4 March 1954 for \$375 results in a deficit for 1953 of \$293.95.

## SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS

General Account		
Balance, 31 December, 1952 .....	\$1,881.76	
Surplus .....	81.05	\$1,962.81
Gen. E. A. Cruikshank Publication Fund		
Balance, 31 December, 1952 .....	\$3,511.73	
Interest, Bank and Bond .....	90.55	
Sales .....	460.53	4,062.81
Life Membership Account		
Balance, 31 December, 1952 .....		250.00
Reserve Account		
Balance, 31 December, 1952 .....		5,000.00
Suspended Societies Account		
Balance, 31 December, 1952 .....	\$ 204.13	
Interest .....	3.24	207.37
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b> .....		<b>\$11,482.99</b>
Assets		
Cash on hand .....	\$ 7.39	
Cash in Bank .....	3,475.60	3,482.99
Bonds .....		8,000.00
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b> .....		<b>\$11,482.99</b>

The bonds reported in the above statement of assets have been examined by John M. Gray and by him certified to have been on hand March 3, 1954.

## NEWS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

An historical society has been organized in Little Current, Manitoulin Island. Congratulations, Little Current.

## PETERBOROUGH

Peterborough's historical society has been very active since its organization on June 17th last year. Five standing committees were formed: interviews, old houses and furniture, cataloguing, historical booklet and one of the most important a social committee. Many articles have been displayed at their meetings and contributed to the society. At one meeting fifty-eight articles were displayed and a brief description given by the owner of each.

The officers elected at the meeting in June were: President, John Londerville; 1st Vice-president, Rev. L. J. Delaney; 2nd Vice-president, George Cobb; Treasurer, Miss Margaret Battersby; Secretary, Miss Anne Heideman.

The society, known officially as the Peterborough City and County Historical Society has made a fine start. The Ontario Historical Society welcomes it as an affiliated member and wishes it every success.

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## WINDSOR

Windsor's Centennial Year is maintaining interest by a succession of attractive events. The Windsor "Y" produced a "Cavalcade of the Years." The schools had their own "Little Centennial" in early May.

The intensive summer festival period will be opened with a mass religious service on June 20. From June 21 - 26 the Centennial Historical Pageant will be presented with a cast of 200. The city's story will be dramatized. On July 1 there will be a Century of Progress parade. Other events of interest: July 4, International Night; July 7, Centennial "Century of Fashions" show; July 11, "All Nation's Night"; August 9 - 14, Old Home Week, with a "Mardi Gras" type of celebration.

In our next issue we hope to have an article on the early history of Windsor.

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## ORILLIA

The Orillia Historical Society announces the erection of a monument to Sir Samuel Benfield Steele, C.B., M.V.O., K.C.M.G., and to his father, Captain Elmes Yelverton Steele, R.N., and his brother, John Coucher Steele.

## MAJOR-GENERAL SIR SAMUEL BENFIELD

STEELE, C.B., M.V.O., K.C.M.G.,

Rose from the ranks to become Superintendent of the R.N.W.M.P., took the Strathcona Horse to the Boer War, helped to organise the South African Constabulary, commanded a military district in Canada on his return, took the Second Canadian Contingent to Britain in the Great War, commanded the Shornecliffe Military District in England till the end of the war.

Died in London in January 1919.

## CAPTAIN ELMES YELVERTON STEELE, R.N.

Medonte pioneer and first member of Parliament for  
the County of Simcoe

## JOHN COUCHER STEELE,

Reeve of Oro from 1859 to 1876 inclusive  
and Warden of Simcoe in 1875.

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The monument, erected jointly by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Orillia Historical Society, will be placed on the grounds of the Public Library on Orillia's Main Street.

The unveiling will take place on Thursday, July 8, 1954.

This is the 80th anniversary of the day (July 8, 1874) on which the then recently organized North-West Mounted Police set out on their famous march to the Rocky Mountains and back to Edmonton, covering a distance of 1255 miles, said to be the longest march on record on which a force carried its own supplies. The march actually marked the effective taking over of the North-West Territories as a part of the Dominion of Canada. It also marked the end of the fierce Indian tribal warfare. Samuel Benfield Steele, then a young Sergeant-Major in the Police, was mentioned in despatches for his efficient work in this march.

The unveiling will be followed by a dinner at which tributes will be paid to the men whose public services are being commemorated on the two plaques on the big granite boulder.

Col. Harwood Steele, son of Sir S. B. Steele, is coming from England for the occasion, and it is expected that many others of Gen. Steele's relatives and friends will attend to pay tribute to his distinguished service as a Mounted Police officer and as a soldier in three wars.

## JORDAN OF THE TWENTY

On May the eighth the Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty celebrated its first birthday and had its second opening. The Directors of the Museum, the members of the community and the Company sponsoring it are so proud of the achievements in the first year of operation that they felt that the second year should be inaugurated with some ceremony.

There have been some additions to the collection, also a readjustment of material and a new system of labelling. Two new rooms have also been set up, a weaving room and a natural history section for children. The former brings the necessary emphasis upon a craft, which played such an important part in the early history of the area; and the latter should make the younger generation staunch supporters of the museum movement.

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## THE KENT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the annual meeting of this active society, Mr. Victor Lauriston, columnist of the Chatham Daily News and author of *Romantic Kent* spoke on various landmarks of the county. He referred to the cairn, erected in 1934 at the entrance to Blenheim Memorial Park, commemorating the signing of the McKee Treaty on May 19, 1790. By this treaty, Indians claiming to own southwestern Ontario ceded the territory for £1200 sterling to be received in goods. British rule in this area became an actuality with the signing of this treaty. Mr. Lauriston pointed out that the treaty was not signed at the site of the cairn but fifty miles away at Detroit. The cairn probably represented a point midway from east to west in the territory ceded by the Indians.

Mr. Lauriston mentioned several sites of importance not yet marked. Kent's boom town, Bothwell, where the discovery of oil led to a meteoric growth, has nothing to commemorate this exciting story. Tilbury where the natural gas industry had its foundation is likewise without any commemorative cairn.

Mr. Lauriston has done a real service in calling attention to a condition which should be remedied soon. Perhaps our Society might have an historic sites committee to give constant attention to this problem.

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## MUSEUMS

The Museums Committee has been very active. The News Letters of which five have been issued give curators news and ideas culled from near and far. On May 14, 15, and 16 a very successful Workshop was held at St. Catharines and Jordan. Museum administration, the care of museum materials, the setting up of museum displays were some of the subjects discussed.

The Committee has planned an interesting programme for our Annual Meeting in Ottawa, Thursday morning, June 10th in the Teachers' College:

- 9.30 a.m. "Museum Buildings Old and New": B. Napier Simpson, Jr., Secretary, Architectural Conservancy of Ontario.
  - 10.05 a.m. "Local Museums and the Tourist": Guy Moore, Director Development Branch, Department of Travel and Publicity.
  - 11.00 a.m. "Local Museums and the Community": Kenneth Young, Director Community Programs Branch, Department of Education
  - 1.00 p.m. "Problems of the Small Museum"—Panel discussion.  
William Todd, Chief, Restoration and Conservation, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.  
Ruth M. Home, Director of Museum Research Studies, Ontario College of Art.  
Elizabeth Burt-Gerrans, Chief Cataloguer, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.
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## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS IN ONTARIO

affiliated with The Ontario Historical Society  
206 Huron St., Toronto 5.

**Ancaster Twp. Historical Society.** John W. Sturrock, Dundas, R.R. 3, Secretary.

**Brant Historical Society...** Pres., Walter D. Rutherford, c/o Board of Trade, Hotel Kerby, Brantford; Sec., Mrs. Joan Hetherington.

**Dundas Historical Society.** Pres., Mrs. J. J. Grafton; Sec., Miss A. Briggs, 6 Hope St., Dundas.

**Essex County Historical Association.** Secretary, H. J. Lassaline, 1007 Canada Building, Windsor.

**Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society.** Corr. Sec'y., Miss Emily Hand, Fenelon Falls.

**Grimsby Historical Society.** Pres., Geo. Lewis, Winona; Cor. Sec., Miss C. Freshwater, Box 241, Grimsby; Treas., Wm. Waring, Grimsby.

**Haldimand Historical Society.** Pres., Rev. P. Mayes, Cayuga; Sec.-Treas., Mrs. E. Jones, Cayuga.

**Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society.** Pres., R. S. Charlton, 59 Amelia St., Hamilton; Corresponding Sec., Miss K. L. McCullough, 71 Wellington St. S., Hamilton; Recording Sec., Miss Mary Farmer, Public Library, Hamilton.

**Huron Historical Sites and Tourist Association.** Pres., Major C. G. Lane, Coldwater, Ont.; Sec., W. H. Cranston, Midland.

**Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty.** Pres., Fred Nunnemaker; Sec., Barbara Coffman; Treas. and Hon. Pres., Philip Torno; Technical Adviser, Ruth M. Home.

**Kent Historical Society.** Pres., J. F. Fletcher; Sec.-Treas., Dr. E. M. Milner, 208 William St., Chatham.

**Kingston Historical Society.** Pres., Lt. Col. C. M. Strange; Sec., Dr. R. A. Preston, Royal Military College, Kingston.

**Lincoln County Historical Society.** Pres., Mrs. Geo. Montgomery, 159 Russell Ave., St. Catharines; Sec., Miss K. E. Duff, 52½ Thomas St., St. Catharines; Treas., Mrs. W. F. Sherwin, 45 South Drive, St. Catharines.

**London and Middlesex Historical Society.** Pres., Mrs. J. E. Johnson; Treas., Miss K. V. Moore; Sec., Mrs. C. L. Edy, 306 Oxford Street, London, Ont.

**Lundy's Lane Historical Society.** Pres., J. T. Ruley; Sec., Mrs. S. C. Tolan, 1775 Brookfield Ave., Niagara Falls, Ont.

**Macnab Historical Association.** Pres., William Macnab, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ont.

**Niagara Historical Society.** Pres., George Carnochan; Sec., Miss Marjorie Ball, Niagara-on-the-Lake; Treas., Mrs. T. H. Parker, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

**Norfolk Historical Society.** Pres., William Z. Nixon, R.R. 5 Simcoe; Sec.-Treas., Miss Grace King, Simcoe.

**Norwich Pioneers Historical Society.** Pres., J. H. Cohoe; Sec., Mrs. N. Lees, Norwich; Treas., A. L. Bushell.

**Orillia Historical Society.** Pres., T. D. Brown; Sec., Miss Mary Sheridan, Public Library, Orillia.

**Oxford Historical Society.** Pres., Mrs. E. J. Canfield, 88 Riddell St., Woodstock; Sec., Miss Marjorie Chambers, R.R. No. 4, Woodstock.

**Oxford Museum.** City Hall, Woodstock.

**Peterborough City and County Historical Society.** Pres., John Londerville; Sec., Miss Anne L. Heideman, 617 Water St., Peterborough.

**Port Hope & District Historical Society.** Sec., John D. Galbraith, Mill St. North, Port Hope.

**Thunder Bay Historical Society.** Pres., J. A. Bailey; Sec., Mrs. L. Coveney, Fort William.

**Waterloo Historical Society.** Pres., W. H. E. Schmalz, 189 Queen St. S., Kitchener; Sec.-Treas., Miss Emily Seibert, 31 Madison Ave. S., Kitchener.

**Wellington County Historical Research Society.** Pres., Mrs. Ernest Root; Sec., Ernest Root, Hillsburgh, Ont.

**Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.** Pres., Mrs. M. D. MacTaggart, 134 Farnham Ave.; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Ross Glassford, 121 Macpherson Ave.; Recording Secretary, Miss Helen Durie; Treas., Mrs. W. A. Harston, 528 Palmerston Blvd.

**Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.** Pres., Mrs. J. N. MacKenzie; Cor. Sec., Mrs. E. C. Guillet, 736 O'Connor Dr.; Recording Secretary, Miss Helen Durie; Treas., Mrs. W. A. Harston, 528 Palmerston Blvd.

**Women's Wentworth Historical Society.** Pres., Mrs. Hugh D. Robertson, 46 Herkimer St., Hamilton; Sec., Mrs. George C. Gage, 248 Park St. S., Hamilton; Treas., Mrs. W. A. Dowie, 24 Ravenscliffe, Hamilton.

**York Pioneer and Historical Society.** Pres., W. E. Hanna, 206 Huron St., Toronto 5; Rec. Sec., Miss M. C. Keffer; Hon. Sec. and Treas., H. A. Knowles, Box 511, Gen. P.O., Toronto.